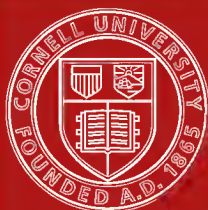




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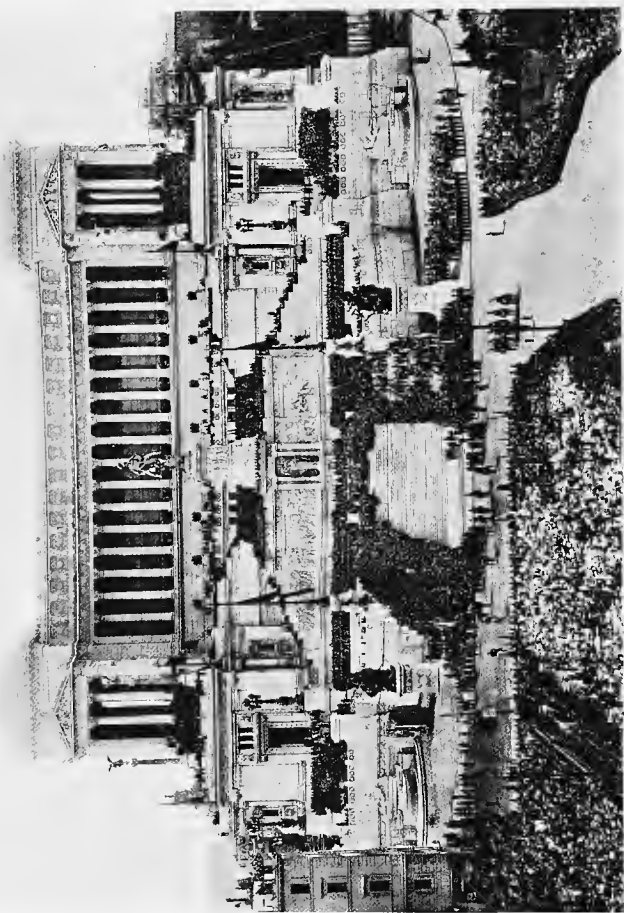
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**UNITED ITALY**







MONUMENT TO KING VICTOR EMMANUELE II







# UNITED ITALY

BY

F. M. UNDERWOOD

WITH TWENTY-ONE ILLUSTRATIONS

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## PREFACE

**O**F the thousands of English and Americans who yearly find their way to Italy, many, if not most, have a genuine feeling of interest and sympathy for this fair land. Many have studied and can therefore appreciate the marvellous civilization of Ancient Rome, and are familiar with the results in art, in architecture, and in culture of the great reawakening of the Middle Ages. Some are even aware that during the last century, from the throes of a seemingly hopeless struggle, a nation was born again to Unity and Independence, but few indeed know anything of the life that is lived around them nowadays, of the feelings and aspirations of United Italy, of her brave struggle to assert her place among the peoples of Europe, of the patience, the energy, and the endurance that has built up the Italy of to-day, with her great achievements in almost every walk of life, in agriculture, industry, education, and finance.

Prejudices and legends die hard, and the sons of modern Italy—energetic, practical, and scientific—have found themselves condemned by foreigners to be for ever a nation of artists, musicians, and idlers; they have been forced to realize that an

Italy of picturesque poverty and sun-gilt ruins was more to the taste of their European neighbours than an Italy full-grown, self-reliant, and enterprising, who demands her place in the comity of nations and claims her right to expansion and influence. Italy has had the great gift of knowing how to learn from the mistakes and difficulties of the past, and now faces the coming years with a vitality and faith in her future that are an earnest of yet wider growth and greater improvements.

This book, written by one who has lived for some years in the country, associating with Italians of all classes, and trying to understand their point of view, gives a sincere history of the events, the tendencies, and the men that have contributed to the making of the Italy of to-day, and if it enables its readers to realize, instead of the conventional, the actual Italian, with his great qualities, instinctive and acquired, and to understand some of the obstacles and drawbacks which have hindered him in the path of progress, its object will have been attained.

It only remains for me to thank all those who have so kindly and willingly given me information, and especially my friend, Cav. Salvatore Cortesi, who has read part of the manuscript, and whose wide political knowledge and advice have been invaluable.

F. M. UNDERWOOD

PALAZZO FIANO, ROME, 1912

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**UNITED ITALY**





# UNITED ITALY

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

1870-1880

Italy's awakening—Patriots and conspirators—Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour—The making of the new Italy—Difficulties, racial and educational—Germs of future development—Burden of necessary taxation—Quintino Sella—Fall of the "Right"—Coming to power of the "Left"—"Transformism"—Agostino Depretis, the indispensable Premier—Irredentism—Abolition of the Grist Tax—Death of the heroes of the Unification—and of Pius IX

IN the great social, political, and intellectual upheaval of the end of the eighteenth century, Italy, that in the days of Ancient Rome had been the centre of civilization to the whole world, that during the dominating years of the Papacy, and under the influence of Milan, Genoa, Venice, Florence, and Naples,—those great disseminators of light and learning for the Middle Ages,—had been the vehicle and inspirer of modern culture to Europe, but which politically had long ceased to exist; Italy arose from the sleep of centuries to the realization of her glorious memories, to the reawakening of independent thought, and the consciousness of her nationality,

and the new life that stirred in the veins of her people led to one of the most romantic and astonishing national uprisings that the world has seen.

The first occurrence that drew the different members of the disorganized Peninsula together, and intensified their aspirations for freedom, was the occupation by Napoleon, whom they always considered an Italian. Although he took possession of the country as a conqueror, and disposed of its various kingdoms and duchies like pawns upon a chessboard, he yet taught Italians the value of political unity and the meaning of nationality ; gave them a magnificent civil code which has survived to this day ; reorganized the administration and drew the people together by immensely improving the means of communication. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 seemed to restore the old order of things and return the different States to their old Bourbon and Hapsburg masters, but the spirit which informed them was no longer the same, the days of hopeless inertia were over, and the House of Austria and Prince Metternich,—the Minister who called Italy a “geographical expression,”—had to cope with men who, whether consciously or not, were already one in their sense of brotherhood, in their hatred of the foreign yoke, in their aspirations for independence, and in the remembrance of their great traditions.

From 1815 onwards, tyranny, misgovernment, and betrayal in the rulers was met by conspiracy and ever-smouldering insurrection on the part of those they ruled. Wherever the influence of Vienna was predominant, and in the States of the

Church, a veritable reign of terror, an orgy of espionage crushed the people and rendered their lives well-nigh intolerable. Ground down and enslaved by Austria and her docile nominees; betrayed and deceived again and again by the Bourbons of Naples; even in comparatively liberal Piedmont relegated to a government that ignored the memory of sixteen years of French rule, and restored in a day the mediaeval privileges of the nobility and clergy; it is little to be wondered at that conspiracies sprang up everywhere and a network of secret societies covered the length and breadth of the land. Maddened by oppression and injustice, quiet and peaceable citizens, the members of the cultured and educated classes, and even a large number of the aristocracy, alike burned to be revenged, and willingly consecrated their strength, their possessions, and their entire lives to the seemingly hopeless task of asserting their individuality as a nation and driving the oppressor from their land. In 1851, W. E. Gladstone, in an open letter addressed to Lord Aberdeen, then Premier, described the Bourbon Government as "an outrage upon religion, upon civilization, upon humanity, and upon decency," and quoted the despairing verdict of the Neapolitan nation, "This is the negation of God created into a system of government."

It was in vain that the ruling Powers tried to stamp out the new spirit by stern reprisals and unrelenting persecution. The names of Silvio Pellico, Count Federico Confalonieri, Berchet, Count Santorre di Santarosa, Ciro Menotti, and Mamiani are only a few from the roll-call of the early heroes and

martyrs who suffered imprisonment, exile, or death for their principles, but who achieved the political education of their countrymen, and permeated the land with liberal thought and passionate patriotism. Among so many noble and devoted souls, three, all of them natives of the kingdom of Sardinia, may be said to have been the supreme incarnation of the hopes and ideals of their race, and each contributed an utterly different, but equally essential part to the great work of regeneration: Giuseppe Mazzini, prophet and conspirator; Giuseppe Garibaldi, knight-errant and inspired military leader; and Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, astute diplomatist and statesman.

Mazzini, who dared to believe that even in a materialistic age men still respond to the call of Progress, Duty, and Self-sacrifice, founded the famous secret association of "Young Italy," which spread like wildfire through the country, and welded together the youth and strength of Italy into a great instrument for the expulsion of the hated Austrians, and for the unification of the many races and types that are found in the Peninsula into a solid irresistible mass dowered with faith which believed that the seemingly impossible could be achieved, and a devotion which realized, as Mazzini said, that the sole path to victory was through "sacrifice,—constancy in sacrifice."

While Mazzini preached this vivifying gospel to his distracted and down-trodden countrymen, the star of Garibaldi, the ideal of the single-minded, pure-hearted hero of romance, arose on the horizon to crystallize into action the dreams and longings

that Mazzini and the patriots of the past had aroused, and to convince his fellow-countrymen that with a leader strong with indomitable faith in the future, and capable of awakening in an entire nation such illimitable enthusiasm, nothing was unattainable.

The flood of patriotism and heroism, however, might have run to waste had there not been the genius of Count Camillo Cavour to guide it into the right channel and restrain it from excess and misdirection. Though inspired by as deep and passionate a desire for the independence of his country as either of the other members of the great Trio, he realized that in order to politically create a nation, public opinion in general, and the statesmen who directed the destinies of Europe, must both be won over to the cause, and must be convinced that it was no anarchic revolutionary explosion, but the heroic inevitable development of the sentiment of nationality in a people whose history and traditions alike entitled them to shape their own destiny and take their place once more among the Great Powers. Serene, calculating, and self-controlled, supple in expedients, but of unbending will and tireless persistence, Cavour saw that having the "Re Galantuomo," with his firmness of character and unswerving loyalty to his pledges as rallying-point and embodiment of the national struggle, the Unification of Italy might be a great reality. Through alternations of hope and discouragement, of good and evil fortune, he never faltered or failed in patience, and when, in 1861, at little more than fifty years of age, worn out by unceasing toil and relentless strain, he died, the great work was practically accomplished,

Italy was free, was united, Victor Emmanuel had been accepted as King of the entire country, and Cavour himself in the Subalpine Parliament had proclaimed Rome as the capital of the nation, although a short time had still to elapse before the Venetian provinces and the Eternal City became actually, as well as in spirit, part of the new kingdom.

During nine years more, the stars in their courses fought for Italy; Prussia's awakening and France's ambition combined to complete Cavour's diplomatic work, while Garibaldi's unconquerable spirit proved that the national instinct would never be contented until Italy was indeed one and undivided from the Alps to the Ionian Sea, and in order to attain that object was even prepared to defy the greatest religious organization that the world has known—the Papacy—in its age-long centre.

The seal was set on this labour of heroes by the occupation of Rome on September 20, 1870, and Victor Emmanuel could sum up the situation with the noble words spoken at the opening of Parliament: "With Rome as the capital of Italy, I have fulfilled my promise and crowned the enterprise that, twenty-three years ago, was initiated under the auspices of my magnanimous Father. . . . Italy is free and united; it only depends on us to make her great and happy."

Italy was now one in name and rich in those glorious memories of patriotism and devotion which are a nation's best endowment, but there remained for the younger generation to achieve the even more colossal task of rendering her one in deed and

in truth, and the position was embodied in the words of Massimo d'Azeglio: "Now that we have made Italy, we must also make the Italians."

Diversities of race, dialect, education, government, and geographical position combined to make the men of different provinces centuries apart in civilization and ideals, till it might truly be said that a native of the kingdom of Naples was more unlike a Piedmontese, for instance, than are the members of two entirely separate European races, and before all these could be assimilated into the body of which they had become members at a cost of so much heroism and endurance, many many years of patience and labour were required. Centuries of misgovernment and oppression had rendered the people, especially in the South, suspicious, lawless, and traditionally opposed to the Government; ports, harbours, and means of communication were terribly wanting; illiteracy was rampant among the lower classes; trade and industry hardly existed; while agriculture, by means of which the peasants lived, was carried on by methods which had not altered since the days of Cincinnatus, and local jealousies and prejudices, fostered by the conformation of the Italian Peninsula, combined to make the inhabitants of many districts utterly ignorant of their fellow-subjects in other parts. Notwithstanding all difficulties, however, and the strain on the financial resources of the country which necessitated heavy sacrifices in taxation, much was achieved, and during the first decade of the Unification the basis was laid of Italy's future development,—industrial, scientific, economic, and

even colonial, although the latter could not be called a fortunate enterprise.

For six years after Rome became the Capital, the political party of the Right, or Conservatives, who had been the representatives of government uninterruptedly since the granting of the Italian Constitution by Charles Albert in 1848, still directed the destinies of the nation. Their chief concern had been to provide funds for the enormous expenses required by the new kingdom, and to pay the debts incurred in the contest for freedom and unity which had been led by Piedmont and her King. Since 1862, Italian finance had been a never-ceasing struggle against a chronic and constantly increasing deficit, although the enormous and overwhelming taxation on real and personal estate, on all forms of industry, and even on the necessities of life, increased every year. In 1862 the National Debt amounted to nearly 120 millions,<sup>1</sup> with an immediate deficit of nearly 18 millions, and by 1871 the National Debt had reached 328 millions, and though the great financier Quintino Sella managed the revenue on a basis of the sternest economy, and once resorted to the extreme measures of asking the taxpayers to anticipate the taxes due from them in the future, and in the case of the King, his Ministers, and the higher Civil Servants, to forego a part of their already meagre stipends, in 1865 there was no alternative but to restore that most hateful of all imposts, the Grist Tax, which raised a storm of opposition both in Parliament and in the country, and which was such a severe blow to the flour trade

<sup>1</sup> All figures relating to money are given in English currency.



that when, in January 1869, it actually came into force, almost half the flour mills in Italy were closed, and the Government was obliged to open State mills in order to provide for the needs of the people. That burden has remained famous, or indeed infamous, down to our days under the name of "Tassa della Fame," the Hunger Tax. The unpopular duty did its work, however, and before the end of Quintino Sella's administration was bringing in over three millions to the exchequer. Notwithstanding that welcome addition, and the fact that between 1861 and 1871 the revenue from taxation rose from 7 millions to over 20 millions, in the same space of time public indebtedness rose from 92 to 328 millions, and the financial statement which Sella expounded in the latter year was one of the most alarming ever laid before a nation. With taxation already seemingly as heavy as could possibly be borne, the Government was face to face with a constant deficit, while the expenditure necessary for the consolidation of the kingdom, for the reform of the army, for the interest on various forms of public debt, and on pensions, could not be avoided or curtailed. Twelve months after the taking of Rome, Sella, by ever more stringent retrenchment and new taxes, was able to bring the deficit down to about two millions; but only a year later expenditure was again eight millions more than the income of the State, the only remedy for which was ever fresh taxation. At last the great Minister, who even in his appearance personified Italy's necessity for economy as he went about the Capital in his rough country

suit and mountaineer's boots, saw his heroic efforts crowned with success, and after a fierce debate in Parliament, in which he had the somewhat reluctant support of the Premier Minghetti and of the Right, his programme was accepted, which not only provided for the necessities of the moment, but laid the foundation of the equilibrium between expenditure and revenue, which, with the exception of the deplorable interval from 1881 to 1898, has continued ever since and has led to the extremely satisfactory state of the Italian finances at the present time, due to that exemplary Italian taxpayer, whom Signor Luzzatti has called "the most patriotic, the most admirable, and the most patient human animal known in financial history."

The Conservative party, during its long term of office, had been the vehicle for the completion of the National Unity; had crowned that Unity with Rome as its Capital; had organized the finances and the naval and military services of the new nation; had regulated the difficult relations between Church and State; and had applied to Rome and the Papal States the Religious Orders Bill, which provided for the sale of the suppressed convents and monasteries, and the disposal of the funds obtained from them, founding municipal Charity Boards to direct the schools, hospitals, and other institutions formerly managed by ecclesiastics. Within its ranks were still to be found many of the most distinguished statesmen and patriots of that generation, such as Lanza, Sella, and Minghetti, yet the Right was becoming more and more unpopular in the country. Their last

administration, which included Minghetti and Visconti Venosta, lasted nearly three years, and came to power with the help of the Left under Depretis; but in 1876 it ceased to exist, and the Left, which for some years had been successfully undermining in the country the position of the party so long in power, now cried "*Finis Destrae*" and claimed to take the helm of the young State. New men, many of them hailing from Sicily and the South of Italy, came forward, and the old Right, chiefly composed of Piedmontese, Lombards, and Tuscans, who had presided at the birth of the new nation, and had loyally devoted themselves to developing her best interests and educating the newcomer to take her place among the peoples of Europe, but who had ruled with severity and had rendered themselves unpopular by their relentless imposition of necessary taxation, came to an end, and a new regime was inaugurated in which the men who guided it, their principles of government, and the way they applied them differed radically from their predecessors.

The Premier of the new Cabinet, Agostino Depretis, had been Pro-Dictator of Sicily, but his political height was not that of the giants of the past. His chief coadjutors were Giuseppe Zanardelli, afterwards himself Premier, and Giovanni Nicotera, an ex-Garibaldian and conspirator, who made a most energetic Minister of the Interior, but whose political past was not unblemished.

Like their hero and leader, Garibaldi, several members of the new Ministry had formerly looked rather to a Republic than to the Monarchy for the

salvation of their country, but all had come to the conclusion that, as Crispi said, "The Republic divides us; the Monarchy unites us," and were loyal adherents of the new order of things. The first General Election after the fall of Minghetti in November 1876 gave to Depretis and the Left the enormous majority of 421 against 81 Conservatives.

Agostino Depretis, known as the "Old Man of Stradella," from the constituency which faithfully elected him up to his death, although personally an honest man, governed with cynical lack of principle, having practically transformed the ancient Jesuit saying that "the end justifies the means," into the motto, "all means are justifiable in order to remain in power." He laughed at principles, parties, ideas, and ideals, and succeeded in becoming a kind of indispensable Premier, who ruled with the assistance of the most opposite factions, having, with his long white beard and patriarchal appearance, the air of a magician of old, and he may be said to have invented the convenient mode of solving a serious crisis which consisted in falling ill with an attack of gout which lasts until all danger was over.

During their long term of opposition the Left had lived by criticizing their successful rivals and by liberal promises of utopias which they were not likely to be asked to translate into fact, and had sometimes, as in the case of the Grist Tax, and the acquisition of the railway system by the State, vehemently denounced measures which were essential to the well-being of the new kingdom. They came to power with a programme so vast

and containing so many unrealizable items that, coupled with the fact that many of them had graduated in the school of conspiracy and intrigue, the standard of political morality was undoubtedly lowered, and they inaugurated the system of "Transformism," or the coalition of all shades of opinion, under which succeeding Cabinets lived by a policy of expedients and concessions which aimed chiefly at remaining in power and preventing the Conservative party from regaining its former place. The traditional divisions of Right and Left were obliterated, and the Cabinets which succeeded each other so rapidly were neither Conservative nor Liberal, but a mixture of the two, coming from compromises certainly not creditable to the prestige of parliamentary institutions.

The people had been led to believe that the advent of the Left meant democratic government, a more lenient rule, reduction of taxation, and an era of general prosperity, but they soon found that the name of their representatives only had been changed; that most of the measures initiated by the Conservatives, such as the naval and military programmes, taxes which provided for the ever-needed increase of revenue, and the administrative regulations that prohibited even Radical meetings if considered likely to endanger order, were passed equally by the new Cabinet. The King's Civil List, already one of the highest in Europe, was augmented; and the democratic Premier did not hesitate, in order to reward his followers, to shower decorations right and left, taking perhaps too literally the saying attributed to the great Victor

Emmanuel that "a cigar or the cross of a knight are things that you cannot refuse to anyone."

The want of definite programme and persistent purpose made the government of the Left unsatisfactory also from the point of view of foreign affairs. They leaned to a Prussian alliance, their anticlerical tendencies inclining them to imitate Bismarck's hostility to the Catholic Church, which showed itself in the Kulturkampf and the Prussian May Laws. The sympathies of Depretis, however, and of his Foreign Minister, Melegari, were all with the French Republic, and their efforts to propitiate France aroused suspicion and resentment in Berlin and Vienna, although the French clerical party refused to be placated and violently opposed anti-papal Italy.

Whenever foreign affairs are spoken of in connection with Italy, one thing must be kept constantly in mind. Although, as we have seen, Victor Emmanuel, in inaugurating the first Italian Parliament after the taking of Rome, declared that the work of unification was completed, still, notwithstanding about thirty years of alliance with Austria, one dream has haunted all Italians, from the Sovereign to the lowest citizen, without distinction of parties, Conservatives and Liberals, Republicans and Clericals alike, that of liberating the Italian provinces still under the dominion of the Hapsburg Monarchy—Trent, Trieste, and Dalmatia. In 1878, shortly after the accession of King Humbert, the Depretis-Crispi Ministry came to an end and was succeeded by one led by Benedetto Cairoli, an ex-Garibaldian, a member of

the family of Lombard patriots, four of whom had fallen in the struggle for their country's freedom, and who represented the more advanced section of the Left. Although he was a staunch friend of France and a warm partisan of a Franco-Italian union, his Ministry, which had no stable majority in the Chamber, was marked by ever-increasing bitterness between the two countries, and the repudiation by the Republic of the Commercial Treaty with the Peninsula, and also by the popular but financially unsound abandonment of the hated Grist Tax, which, while it made the Exchequer lose over three million pounds yearly, brought no appreciable advantage to the people, since the cost of their bread remained the same.

The years between 1870 and 1880 saw the passing away of many of the great figures of the Epoch of Unification, with their enthusiasms and ideals. Mazzini died in 1872, at Pisa, having seen his beloved country free and united, although not under the Republican form of government of which he dreamed. In 1873, Urbano Rattazzi, the leader of the Progressive party of the Left, died, and on the 5th of January 1878, General Alphonso La Marmora, who, acting as Minister of War under Cavour, reorganized the Piedmontese army; while in 1855 he commanded the 15,000 Italian soldiers who joined the English and French in the Crimean War, redeeming at Chernaya the defeat of Novara; he also founded the popular body of sharp-shooters called Bersaglieri.

Four days after La Marmora's death, on the 9th of January 1878, King Victor Emmanuel,

whose valour and sincerity had made him a noble representative to the world of his people's struggle for freedom, died after a few days' illness, and was laid to rest amid the universal mourning of the Italian nation in the Pantheon, the severe and classic simplicity of which makes it a fit tomb for the manly heroic ruler over whom is written the inscription: "To the father of his country."

King Victor Emmanuel, in addition to the fortitude and courage which is traditional in the House of Savoy, had a knowledge and judgment of character which enabled him to appreciate at their full value the two remarkable men, Cavour and Garibaldi, whom fate had given him to be the instruments of the military and diplomatic salvation of their country, but whose want of sympathy and understanding for each other might have wrecked the frail barque of Italy's liberty and unity had he not existed to form a link between them.

Only a month after the decease of Victor Emmanuel died Pius IX, who since 1848 had receded from the sympathetic attitude that then seemed to many patriots to make it possible that the Pope might be the head of United Italy. He had seen himself gradually despoiled of territory and dominion by the National Movement, and his relations to the young kingdom and position of persistent protest formed one of the most insoluble problems that it has had to face.

In 1882, just after the end of this decade, died Italy's best loved hero, Giuseppe Garibaldi, who had been living for some years in complete retirement in his island home of Caprera, where he



landed, after having conquered a kingdom, carrying as his sole riches a bag of haricot beans. Italians mourned his loss with a depth and universality that it is given to few to arouse in their fellow-creatures, feeling that the entire nation was the poorer when that glorious flame of enthusiasm and selfless patriotism was extinguished. One by one the glowing beacon fires of the epic past died down, leaving the nation that they had lighted upon so noble and romantic a path to struggle along the hard and monotonous road of everyday duty, and to face the many complicated problems of modern society and civilization by the workaday light of the lamps of practical common sense, of patience, perseverance, and hope.

## CHAPTER II

### FOREIGN POLICY

Cavour, the founder of Italian foreign policy—Relations with France, Austria, and England—"Italy suffices to herself"—The policy of "clean hands"—The Congress of Berlin—Bismarck's Machiavellian suggestions—The taking of Tunis by France—British occupation of Cyprus—Fall of the Cairoli Cabinet—The "hunting of the Italians"—Italian advances towards the Central Empires—King Humbert and Queen Margherita visit Vienna—The "Austrian Colonel"—Conclusion of the Triple Alliance

THE constant aim of the great Cavour, who may be called the founder of modern Italian foreign policy, was to make Italy and her problems such a question of international interest as to command the sympathy, if not of foreign sovereigns, at least of foreign Governments, and of the people whom they ruled. He laid the basis of the relations of the young kingdom with surrounding States, and in order to reach his object made his voice constantly heard in the comity of nations, allowing no opportunity to pass in order that little Piedmont first, and Italy afterwards, should tangibly assert herself as one of the Powers of Europe. However, after the long-drawn-out struggle for national

unity, Italy's urgent need was peace, to enable her to weld together the diverse States and differing races which she had inherited into a homogeneous whole: to bring them, as far as possible, to the same level of civilization, and to teach them to take advantage of the liberty which at last was theirs.

Her first task with regard to those beyond her borders was to convince the world that, her revolutionary days over, she stood for Law and Order, and as a factor in the stability of Europe, and that her statesmen, though new to the exercise of independence, were yet the descendants of a race that has produced rulers and politicians of whose large views and keen intelligence any country might be proud.

Three great nations are Italy's neighbours, with whom it behoves her to be on friendly terms: France and Austria, whose frontiers join hers for an almost equal distance to the west and east; and England, the great sea power, whose naval bases and ironclads are in close contact with her long coast-line in the Mediterranean Sea. Notwithstanding the coolness of Queen Victoria, the sympathies of the British people had always gone out to the Italians in their efforts for freedom, English Governments had consistently given them moral support and encouragement, and this friendly attitude was continued towards United Italy.

France, in the person of Napoleon III, had enabled Italy to shake off the Austrian yoke from Lombardy, and had restrained the reactionary Powers of Europe from interfering to place it once more upon her neck, but when he promised

to "free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic" he did not realize that this meant creating a united and independent State upon his own borders. In addition, his ultra-Catholic Spanish wife is reported to have said later on, "Rather the Prussians in Paris than the Italians in Rome," and the fear, even after 1870, that France, then still the "Elder Daughter of the Church," might in some way interfere to restore to the Pope the Temporal Power, or at least the possession of the Eternal City, was a continual deterrent to real friendship between the two nations. All this, added to the hard bargain that Napoleon drove in claiming Nice and Savoy in exchange for his assistance in 1859, and the chassepots that "did wonders" at Mentana in 1867, had combined to cool the gratitude and enthusiasm felt by Italians for France, while the leading men of the new Republic which succeeded Napoleon did not forget that Italy had failed to help them in their hour of disaster, and looked far from sympathetically on the Transalpine Kingdom. Even when men most friendly to Italy were in power, there is no doubt that the Government of Paris and the people of the neighbouring Republic refused to consider her on terms of equality, and this, more than any material cause, began to open that gulf between the two Latin nations which later on threw Rome into the arms of the Central Empires. Nothing roused the feelings of the Italians so much as to be given to understand, after a quarter of a century of sacrifices and bloodshed, that their country was considered a kind of French province.

Italy had a still more difficult and delicate undertaking, however, in seeking to ensure peace and harmony with her eastern neighbour. In the course of the eighteenth century some of the fairest and most progressive regions of the Italian Peninsula, from Lombardy and Venetia down to the States of the Church, had fallen, either by inheritance or conquest, into the hands of the Hapsburg Emperors or their nominees, and the Austrian rule had not been an easy one, or conducted in the interest of those ruled. As in the case of Milan and Venice, some of the most heroic deeds of the Italian struggle for freedom took place in the Austrian dominions, and the revolutions and wars which went on from the defeat of 1848 to the victory of 1859 and the annexation of 1866, saw these provinces one by one incorporated into the new kingdom.

It may seem a paradox, but there is no doubt that Italy is indebted to Austria for much which indirectly and certainly unintentionally she did to further the cause of unity, and to increase the longing for freedom from foreign rule. While Austrian intolerance and severity in punishing any attempt to shake off her yoke or attain a more liberal Government made her rule a kind of terrorism only surpassed by that of the Bourbons of Naples, it is also true that her systems of discipline, and her excellent administrative arrangements, taught good citizenship to the people under her sway, making the natives of Lombardy and Venetia, as well as the Tuscans and the people of the smaller principalities under Austrian rulers,

the fittest to govern themselves. She it was, it may be said, who forged the weapons that were to be used against her, while the hatred which she inspired—greater than that against the Bourbons, since she was an entirely foreign power—had the virtue of joining all Italians in one, bracing their characters, dissipating their jealousies, and destroying that parochial spirit which existed to such an exaggerated extent in Italy and gave rise to the word “Campanilism,” to describe interests which are limited to the radius reached by the sound of the parish bell, to the detriment of all and every one beyond it. The revolutionary literature, the conspiracies, the risings, and the wars were all owed to a comparatively limited number of people, to such an extent that Garibaldi said that in his campaigns in Italy he never had among his volunteers a single member of the peasant class, which constitutes two-thirds of the population. The terror inspired by the oppressors kept many, especially among the peasants, from active participation, but they all helped the cause when they could, as was proved on many occasions, notably when, after the fall of the Republic of Rome in 1849, Garibaldi and his dying wife, Anita, almost unaccompanied, succeeded in escaping from a whole army of Austrian soldiers, being hidden, fed, and tended throughout the whole of Romagna and Tuscany, here by a peasant, there by a fisherman, there by a parish priest.

Long years of hatred on one side and contempt on the other, followed by the attainment of independence by the subject race, had left many

and deep wounds between the two nations, and both countries were incredibly sensitive and irritable regarding their treatment by the other. This situation created that movement towards freeing the Italian provinces still left to Austria which was called "Irredentism," and which, with the watchword "Trent and Trieste," tried to do what, to the cry of "Rome or Death," had been accomplished in the years previous to 1870. The standard-bearer of this deep and widespread agitation was Matteo Renato Imbriani, of a noble Southern family, a chivalrous fighter and a powerful orator. It numbered among its open adherents all the leading personalities of the parties not in power, from Alberto Mario, the staunch Republican, whose wife, Jessie White Mario, so faithfully interpreted the spirit of the Italian Unification for English readers; to Felice Cavallotti, the fiery Radical, who renewed the deeds of the Mousquetaers by fighting his opponents as willingly with the sword as with the pen; to Giovanni Bovio, the great republican philosopher; while among its secret sympathizers were all Italians from the King and his Ministers down to the humblest citizen. This became patent when in 1880 Imbriani published a pamphlet in which he stated that the Premier Depretis and the Minister Miceli, a Calabrese patriot, had declared to him that they desired "to see every Italian land joined to Italy," but that above all it was necessary "not to offer Austria any pretext for aggression." As always happens in every country and under every Government whenever a truth

of this kind comes out, it was immediately denied in the official Gazette. However, no one, even among his most bitter opponents, could doubt the word of Imbriani, so that Austria knew exactly what were the sentiments animating the Italians and their Government, but conventionally the statement of the official Gazette stood so that the so-called "cordial relations" between the two Powers could continue.

Between France on one side, and Austria on the other, Italy had dreamed of being able to maintain a "splendid isolation," not in the sense in which these words were applied to England, that her own forces sufficed her without allies, but meaning that she had hoped that the rivalry of her neighbours might constitute a permanent safety for her and her interests, which were not limited to her own territory, but extended to the Balkans and the Mediterranean, whither had already begun that emigration which later on formed one of the most important phenomena of modern times. In Tunis alone over 50,000 Italians lived and prospered, mostly Sicilians, so that the Regency was considered almost an appendix to their island; in Egypt the Italians equalled the French, having schools, hospitals, benevolent institutions, and newspapers of their own; to Morocco and Tripoli Italian official and private missions were often sent, resulting in some permanent enterprises, such as the Arm Factory of Fez, manned and directed by officers and non-commissioned officers of the Italian army, while along the whole Austrian, Turkish, and Greek coasts of the



Adriatic, Italian was spoken through the influence of the Venetians, and in the remainder of the Mediterranean that Levantine language prevailed which is nothing but corrupt Italian, imposed on the natives as the Genoese later on imposed their harsher dialect on the ports of South America. As is natural in young countries,—and Italy, although an old nation, was just born to unity,—the people at large, intoxicated by the fact that they were then the third naval power in Europe, coming immediately after England and France, were most sanguine with regard to the position of the new kingdom in the European concert, and the influence which it might exercise to vindicate what they considered their rights. At the same time, they prided themselves on inaugurating an entirely new policy, totally different from the Machiavellian wiles of which they had been so often accused, and in the same way that they had embraced the programme of isolation summed up in the famous words, “*l'Italia fa da se*”—“Italy suffices to herself”—they were equally enthusiastic over the policy of the Premier Cairoli, which he defined as that of “clean hands,” meaning that in foreign policy he would not join any machinations in order to deprive other countries of the territories which they legitimately possessed. In the minds of the politicians of the time and of the majority of the people this attitude of diplomatic honesty and disinterestedness should have helped Italy to accomplish her chief aim, the real completion of her national unity by the addition of the provinces under Austria, while it should not have prevented

her from gaining, under possible contingencies, certain territories, such as Tunis, where her interests were undoubtedly preponderant. Projects were often mooted by which Austria would at least cede to Italy Trent and its province, which they thought would be only just even from the point of view of a rectification of frontier, as with the present confines the neighbouring Empire is on this side of the Alps with such an extent of territory as would contain a whole army. It was also considered sure that in the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, then spoken of as merely a matter of a few years, the young kingdom would certainly get Tunis and Tripoli with a clear conscience. This frame of political mind which now seems almost incredible in its *naïveté*, left Italy after the Congress of Berlin in 1878 not only with "clean hands," but with empty ones. Her hopes of being a deciding factor in the Councils of Europe received a rude shock when she found her opinions and interests alike ignored, and was obliged to assent to the mortification of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and accept without protest the news of the English annexation of Cyprus. At Berlin, Bismarck was trying to complete Germany's victory of 1870 by ensuring to his country many years of peace, so that she could reap the fruit of her victory without fearing the *revanche* of her conquered foe, who, powerless if alone, could only hope in such a grouping of the other Powers as would constitute an anti-German coalition. Against this he had provided by the alliance of the three Empires, Russia, Austria, and

Germany, strengthened by the Anglo-French rivalry, but since his differences with M. Gortschakoff made Russia waver, he conceived another plan which would infallibly lead to the complete isolation of France. During the Berlin Congress Bismarck suggested to Count Corti, the Italian Plenipotentiary, that Italy should occupy Tunis, and induced the Russian and Austrian representatives to give similar advice. If Italy had accepted, France, who, by the occupation of Algeria and Senegal, was forming her African Empire, would have considered this almost a *casus belli*, and even if war had been averted through Germany's support of Italy, the relations between the two Latin countries would have been such that the Republic could no longer count on the friendship of the young kingdom, the only country to which she could turn at that time for assistance in her antagonism against Berlin. For the reasons above mentioned, Italy refused to avail herself of the suggestion, explaining that she would do nothing to disturb her cordial relations with France, especially as she had the assurance of the French Cabinet on one side that nothing of the kind would be attempted by Paris, and that of the English Government on the other, that they would not agree to any change in the Ottoman Empire beyond what was to be decided by the Congress of Berlin. Bismarck must have smiled at this demonstration of excessive ingenuousness in the descendants of Machiavelli, and was glad of it because their refusal ensured the achievement of his object in a better way. The same offer was made to France, who

did not realize the trap laid for her. Bismarck was triumphant. The Republic, occupied in an African conquest which might cost her as much blood and money as that of Algiers, would forget her European eastern frontier, her friendship with Italy would be at an end, and the latter would be inevitably attracted into the orbit of Berlin, while France's rivalry with England, who saw with an unfavourable eye the growth of a new colonial empire, would augment.

In 1881 France took the pretext of some attacks of the Kroumir tribes against the Algerians to cross the Tunisian frontier. The news caused astonishment and dismay throughout the Peninsula and especially in the Chamber, and Cairoli, who was a true patriot and a pure soul, was especially distressed at an event which destroyed the legend in which he also believed of his being a great statesman and a clever negotiator. It would seem that he had taken vague assurances that France had no ambition to conquer Tunis as solemn pledges, so that he now realized that he had been a mere tool in the hands of Marquis de Noailles, the French Ambassador, and that the Italian Ambassador in Paris, General Cialdini, a brave soldier, had proved but a poor diplomatist. It is even asserted that Cairoli remonstrated rather vigorously at what he considered a lack of good faith, but he was answered by expressions of surprise at his simplicity, and when he persisted in his protests, he was given to understand that if Italy intended to make herself disagreeable France was ready to retaliate by occupying Sardinia. The

discussion in Parliament was stormy and threatening for the Cabinet, especially when Marquis di Rudini, to emphasize the want of foresight of those in power, quoted a statement of the English Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who had admitted the possibility that the British occupation of Cyprus might be counterbalanced by acquiescence in France's move on Tunis. The Premier denied the existence of any accord of that kind between France and England, saying that in 1878 he inquired officially on the subject and was assured that no such agreement existed. He added that even recently the Italian Ambassador in London, General Menabrea, another soldier diplomatist, had informed him that Lord Salisbury had said that no understanding with France about Tunis existed. The only effect of such statements was to further indicate the ignorance of the Italian Government, showing that their diplomatic representatives in London, Paris, and Berlin had not apprehended what was going on and notified it to Rome. Otherwise Cairoli would have known that since the Berlin Congress the far-seeing genius of Bismarck had induced Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington to agree verbally that in exchange for the Anglo-Ottoman Convention for Cyprus, Great Britain would offer no objection in the case of France occupying Tunis. It cannot even be said in excuse that the whole thing was limited to that conversation, as the accord was ratified by letters exchanged between the French and English Ministers of Foreign Affairs in the summer of 1878, although France had several times assured England

that she had no intention for the time being of seizing the country. Italy, entirely in the dark, thought that she could depend on the assistance of Great Britain, believing that the interests of the two countries coincided, and her confidence was even stronger when the Gladstone Government came in, not knowing that Lord Granville confirmed the agreement entered upon by his predecessor under Beaconsfield. Signor Cairoli also gave the official text of the version which M. Jules Ferry, the French Premier, and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Barthélemy de St. Hilaire, had given to the Italian Ambassador in Paris, saying that the French expedition had no object but to punish the Kroumir tribes in the usual way by occupying some of their country, thus ensuring the protection of the Bona-Guelma railway. The Premier ended by saying that Italy was obliged to believe the affirmation of the French Government when they declared that beyond defending their interests they had no intention of changing the political position of the Regency, and had trusted in the accord between Italy and England in their point of view of this, as of many other questions. The speech was received with the most evident signs of disapproval, and only resulted in a still deeper feeling of indignation throughout the country, for people feared that Tunis would be only the first step, and would be followed by Tripoli, and that Italy, enclosed in "a ring of iron," would see Sicily snatched from her by some expedition from Biserta, which might be transformed into a naval base of the same strength as Gibraltar or Malta. Besides,

although for the past eleven years sympathy had been felt for France as the best representative of that European Liberalism which had helped the cause of Italian Unity, the fear was entertained that she, not forgetting that Italy took the opportunity of her defeat and the consequent withdrawal of her troops to enter Rome, might sooner or later directly or indirectly co-operate in an attempt to restore the Temporal Power.

The discontent and mortification at the impotent diplomacy of the Government was deep and widespread, and although the mere suggestion of the return to power of the old Right under Quintino Sella was sufficient to silence for the moment the jealousies and discords of the Left, Cairoli finally fell after the signature by France and Tunis of the Treaty of Bardo, so disastrous to Italian interests. He was succeeded by the inevitable Depretis, with Pasquale Stanislao Mancini, a Southerner, considered the greatest Italian authority of the time on international law, at the Foreign Office, and General Ferrero, afterwards Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, as Minister of War. This Ministry considerably increased the expenditure for the army, being supported in this both by the Right and by Garibaldi himself, who, although a profound sympathizer with France, saw in what had just occurred the necessity for his country to make her armaments much stronger in order to be able to hold her own among the other Powers. The Cabinet had only existed a few weeks when a deplorable incident took place at Marseilles to further embitter the feelings between the two nations—the "hunting of the

Italians." French soldiers on their return from Tunis had been hissed outside the Italian Club, which had abstained, somewhat naturally, from joining in the general rejoicings, and was not flying its flag. The crowd attacked the Italians, a riot ensued, and resulted in four persons being killed and seventeen wounded, which, however, did not prevent Signor Mancini from declaring to the Chamber on June 21 that the relations between the two countries were benevolent and conciliatory, and that just the day before he had received a notification from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs that he was ready to enter into negotiations with Italy for the conclusion of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which, together with the loan to be floated in Paris for the abolition of the Forced Currency, were the two most important economic necessities of the moment.

Public opinion became more and more convinced that Italy's foreign policy since the occupation of Rome had been a hopeless failure, and demanded that she should abandon a system of universal friendliness which had brought her neither safety nor advantage, and should commit herself, once for all, to definite alliances which would ensure protection to her interests, and relieve her from the apprehension of attack from either frontier which effectually robbed her of the power to attend to her own internal affairs and to develop her resources.

This programme, the necessity for which was obvious to all, was very difficult to realize. France had just inflicted such a wound, both to Italy's



prestige and to her material interests, that an understanding with her was out of the question, especially when later French Cabinets answered the francophile inclinations of a good many of the Italian statesmen by an increase of hostile measures. On the other hand, Bismarck, who had just emerged from the Kulturkampf, seeing how difficult it was to get the better of the Papacy now that she had no territory, thought how much more convenient it would have been if the Pope had had even a strip of seashore where a naval demonstration would have had more effect than all the notes exchanged in the long struggle which had taken place between them. Partly with this idea and partly to obtain the adhesion of the Centre to his home policy, it was then that Bismarck, speaking with the Papal Nuncio, said that Italy was not among Germany's friends. At the same time, however, he was as usual gaining on both sides, as, while the re-establishment after seven years' interruption of the Prussian Legation to the Holy See gave him the support of the Catholic Centre, this and other moves in the same direction, especially a cleverly conducted campaign of the German Press in favour of reopening the Roman Question, frightened Italy, who at that time still feared a possible foreign intervention in her relations with the Church. The situation with Austria was even graver, because of the unabating agitation of the Irredentists, who left no stone unturned in order to assert Italy's rights on the far shore of the Adriatic. Finally, while it was understood that the young kingdom could count on the moral

support of Great Britain, it was equally evident, as recent events had proved, that the too often platonic attitude of the great naval power was not sufficient to safeguard either Italy's interests or her dignity. All considered, it seemed that an accord with the Central Empires was the safest policy to follow, as, while it would absolutely guarantee Italy from the risk of an attack from Austria, it would also prevent the resurrection of the Roman Question as an international one, which none but Germany and Bismarck would have had the authority and the power to initiate, and it would also safeguard her from any high-handed action of the kind that had occurred in Tunis. The first advances in the new direction, made by Count de Launay, the Italian Ambassador at Berlin, were at least apparently coldly received, and it is reported that Bismarck told him that Italy and her King, to reach Berlin, must pass first through Vienna. Fortunately, the Italian representative at Vienna, Count di Robilant, although a General, proved to be a good diplomatist as well as a sincere patriot, as he had also shown himself a brave soldier when on the battle-field of Novara he lost one of his arms, fighting against that very Austria to whom he was later accredited as Ambassador. He was of the good old Piedmontese stock, and had the courage to oppose the plan of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Signor Mancini, by firmly sustaining that if King Humbert were to go to Vienna, at least the initiative of the visit should come from Austria, and this was achieved by inducing the Viennese



QUEEN MARGHERITA



KING HUMBERT



Press to suggest the idea. While the Conservatives in general received the project with a satisfaction which was shared by some of the Liberals and a good many of their leading men, it found on the contrary much opposition among the Radicals and the other advanced parties, giving rise to even stronger manifestations than usual against Austria. However, the efforts made in both countries by the respective Governments rendered the visit more and more acceptable, and Count Robilant was meanwhile negotiating the details, including the return of the visit by the Emperor Francis Joseph, omitting, however, to specify that it should take place in Rome. The consequences of the oversight were much graver than anyone could then foresee, as the Pope, having enacted that no Catholic head of State or Sovereign could visit the King of Italy in Rome without being excommunicated, King Humbert declared that he would not receive the Austrian Emperor anywhere but in the capital of the nation, and Emperor Francis Joseph, as the ruler of one of the most Catholic countries, replied with great courtesy, but with equal firmness, that he would return the visit anywhere except in Rome, and to this day it has never taken place.

King Humbert and Queen Margherita arrived in the Austrian capital on the 27th of October and remained there four days, accompanied by the Premier Depretis and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Signor Mancini. During their stay they were the guests of Emperor Francis Joseph at the Hofburg, and their reception by their host and

his people was cordial and even enthusiastic, but on their return it was evident from speeches made by Baron de Kallay, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and Count Andrassy, that the Italian statesmen had not carried away any definite proof of the new-made friendship; reference to the visit was studiously avoided at the opening of the German Reichstag, where Bismarck, with the cruel and contemptuous frankness of which he sometimes made use, painted the state of Italy in the darkest colours. Gambetta, the head of the new French Cabinet, was no more friendly to Italy than his predecessors, and defended the noxious Treaty of Bardo; England clearly showed that she had no intention of taking up Italy's interests in any practical way; so that, as Bismarck had intended, the Peninsula was forced to the painful conclusion that her efforts had been in vain, and that she remained more isolated than ever. King Humbert suffered more than anyone else, as Emperor Francis Joseph, having, as is the Austrian custom, appointed him head of one of his regiments, he had appeared at the Review given in his honour in its uniform, and when he returned home all anti-Monarchists and Irredentists hurled against him the title of "Austrian Colonel." Nothing could have been more painful to the grandson of King Charles Albert, the "magnanimous King," who, abdicating on the battle-field of Novara, handed his sword to Victor Emmanuel, the "Re Galantuomo," making him swear that he would never unsheath it until he could be revenged on Austria.

Meanwhile, Count Robilant, constantly haunted

by the fear that his country, of which he had such a high ideal, should appear as begging assistance, deliberately abstained from carrying out the instructions sent him by Signor Mancini, to open negotiations on the subject, and the crippled hero, both on account of his relations with the Court and the influence he exercised in the country, was not a man who could be reprimanded or recalled. He had the satisfaction of finding his policy successful, as Count Kalnoky, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, was the first to speak of the advantages which there would be for both countries if, forgetting old questions of dissension, they should unite in defence of their common interests. Thus the exchange of views for the conclusion of the Triple Alliance began, since in reality both Austria and Germany desired that Italy should be on their side. Austria thought that the alliance with her ancient enemy of 1866 would put an end to Irredentism, and would induce Italy to abandon any further attempts towards the annexation of the Italian provinces still in her hands, while, and this was a more important advantage, in the case of war with Russia, Austria would not need to watch her frontier on the Alps, and would be able to centre all her forces against the Muscovite Empire. Germany had come to the conclusion that Italy's friendship was worth having, because she had realized that she could not entirely count upon Russia's attachment, and she was ready to accept practically any alliance which would help her to what was her main object, to avoid even the distant possibility of an attack on the part of France, since

the triumph of 1870 required a long period of peace in order to consolidate the Empire. However, it was soon proved that Count Kalnoky had strange ideas as to what he called the "common interests" of the two countries. He did not intend that on the part of the Government of Vienna there should be any pledge to guarantee the territory of the new kingdom, as he was afraid that such a clause would hurt the feelings of the Vatican, and cause troubles with the numerous ultramontanes of the Empire. Mancini in his turn refused to guarantee on the part of Italy the territorial integrity of the Dual Monarchy, which would have included the Italian provinces subject to Austria. Mancini also wished that in exchange for the assistance which Italy would give to Austria in furtherance of her expansion in the Balkans, she and Germany should help Italy to protect her interests in the Mediterranean, and this Kalnoky absolutely refused. Negotiations were at a standstill and at a certain moment seemed to be on the point of being wrecked by the agitation caused throughout Italy by the knowledge which had just leaked out that the Emperor Francis Joseph did not intend to return in Rome the visit which the King and Queen of Italy had paid him in Vienna. Bismarck was not a man to see his patient work of over four years end in nothing, so he induced Kalnoky to suggest that Mancini should draw up a note defining the points essential for Italy's adhesion to the Alliance. Mancini sent a long memorandum to Count Kalnoky, who transmitted it to Bismarck, and the latter found the solution by inducing Austria to



accept the clause of the reciprocal territorial integrity on condition that Italy should not insist on protection in the Mediterranean, with the understanding, however, that the contracting parties should consult each other on questions of common interest.

In this shape the Treaty was signed on May 20, 1882, though it was not publicly acknowledged by Italy until March 1883, when Mancini's allusions in the Chamber carried conviction and uneasiness to the French Government. Just about a week before the conclusion of the Triple Alliance the Italian Parliament had raised military expenses to L. 80,000,000 a year, in order to bring from ten to twelve the number of the Army Corps. This fact is important, as the adversaries of the Triple Alliance have always maintained that the Treaty compels Italy to keep up a certain army, which is a mere supposition, as the text of the Alliance has never been made public, though the statements officially given in the Parliaments of the three countries have always agreed that the compact aims at the defence of their reciprocal territory in case of foreign aggression. It is, however, known that Italy stipulated that her pledges to the other two contracting parties should never force her to come in conflict with Great Britain, to whom she has always considered herself bound by ties of friendship and interest in the Mediterranean. It was said that the Treaty also contained a military convention, which, whether forming an integral part of the Treaty, or being an appendix to it, was intended to fix the amount of military forces which

each country was to put at the disposal of the others in case of the different attacks which they might sustain either from France or from France together with Russia; but the existence of this has never been proved. Those who pretended to know that the Alliance forced Italy to maintain a strong army said that the two extra Army Corps created after the Bill of May 11, 1882, were intended to be sent across Austria into Germany to co-operate with the troops of the Kaiser, while the remainder of the Italian army would be directed to the Italo-French frontier.

## CHAPTER III

### FOREIGN POLICY

The attempt of Oberdank against the Emperor of Austria—Anti-Austrian demonstrations—Count Robilant as Minister of Foreign Affairs—His resolute attitude towards Bismarck—First renewal of the Triple Alliance—The Anglo-Italian agreement—Crispi's visit to Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe—"A great service to Europe"—Rupture with France—Second renewal of the Triplice by Rudini—Franco-Italian incidents—Marquis Visconti Venosta—Re-establishment of good relations between Italy and France—Third renewal of the Triplice by Prinetti—Question of the Italian University in Austria

WITH the signature of the Triple Alliance began that strange union of two countries, Austria and Italy, who, while disliking each other intensely, both found protection in the compact which prevented them from fighting. The knowledge of the existence of a Treaty between Rome and Vienna, instead of suggesting more conciliatory dispositions, gave at first a greater impetus to Irredentism, which culminated in the scheme for attempting the life of Emperor Francis Joseph on the part of the young Triestine, Guglielmo Oberdank, a deserter from the Austrian army and a student in an Italian university. The plot being discovered led to his execution and to a

violent outburst of anti-Austrian demonstrations throughout the whole of Italy; he was proclaimed a martyr to the Italian cause, since he had deliberately intended, whether successful or not, to immolate himself for the object he had at heart.

A bust of him was to be inaugurated in January 1883, at the Democratic University Club of Rome, and this was to be the occasion for one of those monster demonstrations, the consequences of which might have been very serious. The Government forbade the meeting, and sent a strong force the day before to capture the bust, sequester the papers of the club, and arrest the promoters of the meeting. The indignation aroused was intense. A kind of conspiracy was hastily got up. The sculptor Albani, working the whole night, with the assistance of Ettore Ferrari, afterwards Grand Master of the Italian Freemasons, managed to finish another bust of Oberdank, the students decorated the room, and the next evening about two hundred persons, notwithstanding the watchfulness of the police, managed to penetrate into the hall, and the commemoration of the "Martyr" took place, the authorities being aware of it only when loud cries of "Viva Oberdank!" "Down with Austria!" echoed through the windows, attracting a large crowd in the very centre of Rome. The police broke in and arrested the most riotous, one of whom had cried, "Down with the Austrian Colonel!" alluding to King Humbert. Almost at the same time a printer of the *Riforma*, Crispi's paper, went to the Austrian Embassy shouting, "Viva Oberdank!" and discharged all the cartridges of his revolver against

the Austrian escutcheon. These are examples of the feelings of the people towards their new-made ally.

The Triple Alliance was concluded for five years, and though the Italian Government was thankful for the relief from anxiety which it brought, long before the time came for its renewal public opinion was asking whether what they had gained was worth the increased responsibilities and expense which they had incurred in exchange. Mancini made valiant efforts to avoid displeasing France, suspending the Italian Consular jurisdiction in Tunis, refusing, chiefly for that reason, to join England in Egypt, and showing a benevolent confidence in the Republic's action in Morocco ; but all in vain, she showed no intention of becoming more intimate with Italy, while every move in her favour decreased the trust and confidence of the Central Powers, and Bismarck and Kalnoky, on the ground that they feared Italy's tendency to Radicalism, declined to give her interests their support, and taught her that alliance does not necessarily mean friendship. Added to this, Bismarck had once again been able to approach the Russian Empire. The Treaty of Skiernewice, signed on March 21, 1884, by Austria, Germany, and Russia, without the knowledge of Italy, assured to Germany a "benevolent neutrality" on the part of the other members of the new Treaty in case of being forced to make war on a fourth power—necessarily France. This discounted Italy's value as an ally in the eyes of the great Chancellor, who made her understand that she was no longer of importance in assuring

the peace of Europe. By his last move Bismarck was able to render impossible any alliance between France and Russia, while his persistent benevolence towards the Republic had so far assuaged French animosity that some of her statesmen were even willing to contemplate the possibility of a *rapprochement* with their foe of 1870. After the Russian Treaty it only remained for Italy, assured for at least three years longer against any aggression from without, to adopt a demeanour of dignified reserve, and while realizing that she had nothing further to expect from her allies, to set herself to build up her national resources and to strengthen and render more intimate her relations with England, so that in the Conference which met in London to consider the financial affairs of Egypt, Italy asserted her independence of Austria and Germany by siding with England against them. About this time negotiations were begun for her active participation in England's Sudanese policy, followed by the occupation of Massowah by Italy. This led the nation to imagine that Italy shared with England vast political projects, and when the English Government disclaimed any such understanding, Mancini, in order to justify himself, after claiming the principal merit of the "grand and beneficent" effects of the Triple Alliance, announced in addition that the Treaty did not contain any pledge to protect special interests outside the territory of the contracting Powers. This statement put an end to any uncertainty as to whether in the Triple Alliance the Central Powers had undertaken to maintain the *status quo* in the Mediterranean,

and gave pleasure to France, while it was a bitter surprise to the Italian public, and together with the general dissatisfaction felt at Mancini's colonial policy, drove him to retire from his position as Minister of Foreign Affairs, in June 1885. He was succeeded by Count Robilant, whose balanced judgment and determination to uphold the honour of his country had gained for him respect from friends and foes alike. The new Minister accepted the position only at the express command of the King, as he doubted whether under a Depretis Cabinet he would be able to carry out a foreign policy of firmness and dignity, and he disapproved of the occupation of Massowah, entered upon "without well-weighed judgment or definite aims."

The occasion on which the diplomatic ability and patriotism of Count Robilant shone most brightly was during the negotiations for the renewal of the Triple Alliance. He then inaugurated a foreign policy, "brave but not arrogant, pacific but not timid," which did much to blot out the errors of the past. In October 1885, Count de Launay began to assure General di Robilant of the amiable dispositions of Bismarck towards Italy, saying, among other things, that "we are even declared worthy of entering the famous group of the Three Empires," Germany, Austria, and Russia, and asked if he would like to initiate an exchange of views about the renewal of the Alliance. Di Robilant, as in 1882, said that such a move should come from Bismarck and not from Italy, and that anyway the Treaty could not be renewed as it was, adding frankly that he was not really satisfied

with the attitude of Germany, and that he believed that they would finally come to no conclusion. In any case he insisted that Bismarck should be the first to make his intentions clearly known. De Launay, who was as strongly in favour of advance as Robilant was of the wisdom of holding back, suggested that in order to learn Bismarck's intentions di Robilant might meet him in Austria, at the same time interviewing the Austrian Emperor, and perhaps also Kalnoky and Giers, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs. Robilant refused, saying that all the *mise en scène* which would be necessary for the proposed meeting was profoundly repugnant to him, since his motto as Minister of Foreign Affairs was, "Actions without words," while the scheme suggested would be just the reverse of this maxim, that so far Bismarck had given him "fine phrases but had not lifted his little finger to accentuate a more practical *rapprochement* with Italy. Italy is tired of this unfruitful alliance, and I do not feel inclined to force her to renew it, feeling too profoundly that it will be always unproductive for us. It is possible that Bismarck has been mistaken with regard to me, as he does not know me at all, and has imagined that I should feel the necessity of following always and under all circumstances in his suite. If he thinks that he is strangely mistaken."

The European horizon was not without clouds at that time, so much so that General Menabrea, reporting from Paris a conversation with Baron Rothschild, said the latter did not believe that Bismarck desired war, but feared that he would be



drawn into it not so much by France as a whole as by the ambition of those who were at the head of the Republic. This situation, together with the complications in the Balkans, which were undermining the friendship of the three emperors, convinced Bismarck of the need for renewing the Triplice, so that, in August 1886, he sent Baron von Keudell, his Ambassador in Rome, to inform Count Robilant that both Emperor William and Emperor Francis Joseph, as well as their Ministers, desired to maintain unchanged the fundamental clauses of the already existing Alliance. Count di Robilant could not be more explicit as he bluntly replied that if it were a question of "only continuing that which existed," he would never agree to renew the Treaty of four years before, "*tel quel*," as it was. It is even reported that, asked by Baron von Keudell, he enumerated summarily the principal changes upon which he insisted, in order to guarantee Italian interests, and that as before 1882 Bismarck had answered the Italian advances towards entering the Alliance of the Central Empires by saying that "the key to reach Berlin is to be found in Vienna," he now thought it imperative for the dignity of his country that if a renewal should take place the negotiations and the signature of the new Treaty should not be carried on in the Capital of Austria, but either in Berlin or in Rome. Naturally, the Government of Vienna did not willingly accede to such a proposal, which was evidently meant to emphasize the complete freedom of the young kingdom from any even apparent subservience to her ancient foe, and asked that if the

negotiations were not to be in Vienna, at least they should not be in Rome. Even nowadays nothing more definite is known of the other clauses put forward by Count Robilant except that Italy was to be in the Alliance on exactly the same level as the other two contracting Powers, and that her Mediterranean interests should be guaranteed with the assistance of Great Britain. Count Robilant himself was entrusted at the beginning of November 1886 with drafting the suggested additions to be made to the Treaty of 1882, which he sent to Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe. Unfortunately at the beginning of January 1887 the first Italian reverse at Dogali in Erythrea came to interfere with the threads which Count Robilant had so cleverly woven, and on February 4, considering that the situation of the Cabinet failed to give him as Minister of Foreign Affairs the prestige necessary to continue the negotiations, he insisted on immediately retiring. King Humbert joined Signor Depretis and the other Ministers in trying to induce him to reconsider his decision, but Count Robilant was immovable, so that the whole Cabinet had to resign. France and the Vatican rejoiced, as they hoped that it might mean the wrecking of the renewal of the Triple Alliance, but their joy was of short duration, as, four days later, King Humbert entrusted General Robilant with the formation of a new Cabinet. He did not accept the mandate, but it was obvious that he was considered the man of the moment and that no ministerial combination would be possible that did not include him as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Under

these circumstances he was able to remain at the Foreign Office with increased authority while the crisis continued, and carry out the negotiations with England on one side, and with the Central Empires on the other, signing the new Triple Alliance on March 17, 1887. The agreement with England, of which unmistakable indications have appeared from time to time in official statements in Rome, London, and Berlin, is surrounded with as much mystery as the exact clauses of the Triplice. It is generally admitted that Italy's strength when the Triple Alliance was originally concluded consisted in her friendship with England, which besides making her insist that the Alliance was on no occasion to bring her into conflict with Great Britain, made her a link between the Central Empires and the United Kingdom. Bismarck was rather pleased with the Anglo-Italian agreement, as it helped to isolate France through England being also indirectly connected with the Triple Alliance. This desire facilitated the adhesion of Germany to Count Robilant's request for the guarantee of Italian interests in the Mediterranean, and the great Chancellor did all in his power for the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian agreement, which, while satisfying the wishes of Rome, further committed England to the main lines of his policy. What Italy may have offered in exchange to Great Britain is not known, but prominent politicians think that she agreed, for one thing, to co-operate with her in the different questions of the Balkans and the Near East, where the two countries, as later events proved, in Rumelia, Greece, Crete, and

in Armenia, followed the same policy of helping those nationalities to reach a higher standard in politics and progress, and secondly, pledged herself to assist the British policy in Egypt and the Soudan through her colony on the Red Sea. The adhesion of England to Italy's interests in the Mediterranean was a definite diplomatic achievement such as had not been gained since the days of Cavour, and the Premier Depretis announced this triumph of Italian statesmanship by saying "that no Cabinet in Italy ever dared to hope for that which our Count Robilant has obtained." What a difference in fact between this time and the Italy of six years before, when France, after having occupied Tunis, menaced Sardinia, Austria threatened to cross the frontier and put an end to Irredentism, and Germany alluded to the possibility of reopening the Roman Question. Robilant was followed at the Foreign office for a short interval by Depretis himself, who died on July 29, 1887, the Premiership being assumed by Francesco Crispi, who is perhaps the most notable figure in Italian politics at the end of the nineteenth century. He came to power protesting his affection for France, but his actions soon proved him a strong upholder of Bismarck's policy. He declared that when Depretis invited him to enter the Cabinet he asked before all to be permitted to read the Treaty just renewed with the Central Empires, in order to be sure that it did not pledge Italy to attack France, and he found it a "Treaty of defence, not of offence." A few months later, in September 1887, Crispi paid that



FRANCESCO CRISPI



first visit to Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe which identified him with the policy of the Iron Chancellor. On that occasion an overcoat lent by Bismarck to the Italian Premier became famous. Crispi carried it back to Italy in triumph, where his enemies said that, like the mantle of Elijah, it endued him with a double portion of the spirit of the great man from whom he received it. Feeling in France ran so high that Crispi thought it opportune to deliver a speech in Turin on October 25, in which he rejected the accusation of being an enemy to France, spoke of the agreement with England, and said that at Friedrichsruhe they had only worked for peace, concluding by repeating a famous phrase which Bismarck had addressed to him on his departure: "We have rendered a great service to Europe." France, however, was not of the same opinion, and proved it by her failure to renew the Commercial Treaty with Italy. One of the French delegates, Senator Teisserenc de Bort, said: "As long as Italy remains in the Triplice, a commercial accord with France will be impossible." The French Chamber had, in fact, applied to Italian importations a tariff going as high as 100 per cent. That was the period in which everything, especially when coming from Crispi, was twisted to be anti-French and a provocation towards the Republic. For instance, once Crispi ordered that to all the Powers who in their communications with Italy wrote in their native language the reply should be in Italian, among these being France, who took this decision as an offence, while the order was really aimed

at Great Britain and the United States, who used the English language, thus needing a translation, which is not required for the French language, as that is understood in all Ministries in Italy. To these true or supposed provocations France answered with an attitude wounding Italian feelings, going so far as to call Italian Consols in the bulletin of the Bourse "Macaroni." The situation was rendered graver by the unsympathetic and anti-Italian policy followed by the French Ambassadors accredited to the Quirinal and to the Vatican, who even instigated the Pope to leave Rome, saying that if such an event gave them the opportunity, the Republic would take upon itself to bring forward the Roman Question and solve it. That would have meant war, and Signor Crispi, while on one side he again notified the Vatican that if the Pontiff should leave Rome and Italy he would never be permitted to return, on the other it is reported that he obtained from Lord Salisbury the promise of assistance.

The tension with France under this first Crispi Cabinet was such that there was for a moment real danger of a conflict between the two countries, and it is even said that at the beginning of 1888 the English commander of the naval forces in the Mediterranean suddenly arrived at Spezia as a counterpoise to the menace of the French fleet then cruising in the neighbourhood. In addition Crispi did all in his power to further strengthen the Alliance with Germany and Austria, and demonstrated Italy's loyalty to the latter when Signor Seismit Doda, Minister of Finance, having



been present at a banquet at Udine at which Irredentist toasts were given, the Premier dismissed him by wire for not having protested and retired. Crispi secured an overwhelming majority in the General Election of 1890, and every one expected he would have a long term of office, when on January 31, 1891, he fell on an insignificant question of internal politics and was succeeded by Marquis di Rudinì. The new Premier, whose advent to power had been welcomed by the parties unfavourable to the Triple Alliance, five months after having assumed the Government, accepted the propositions made by Germany about the Triplice, and in June 1891, although it did not expire until May 20, 1892, renewed it, not for six years, as had been the case before, but for twelve. This again embittered the relations with France, which grew even worse under Signor Giolitti, who formed his first Cabinet on May 5, 1892. In August 1893, some Italian workmen were massacred at Aigues-Mortes, and in nearly all the South of France a systematic persecution of Italians went on. Italy answered by violent anti-French protests, and in Messina the coat-of-arms of the Republic was thrown down from the French Consulate and burned in the street, while in Rome a regular attack was made against the Palazzo Farnese, the seat of the French Embassy.

The second Crispi Cabinet was hampered in its foreign policy by the war with Abyssinia and by the disaster of Adowa. Again Marquis di Rudinì followed Signor Crispi, and the beginning

of his new Cabinet was marked by the publication of a Green Book on the Abyssinian campaign which displeased England, as it contained documents committing Great Britain to the cause of Italy, the publication of which the British Foreign Office had not authorized, as is usually the case between friendly Powers. In consequence of this, Duke Caetani di Sermoneta, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigned his portfolio into the much abler and more experienced hands of Marquis Visconti Venosta, the last survivor of the politicians of the patriotic period of 1848. Although now more than octogenarian,<sup>1</sup> he has preserved his clearness of mind, acute intelligence, and enthusiastic character. It seems strange for those who knew him as Minister of the King and veteran diplomatist to think that he started life amid conspiracies, and distinguished himself at the barricades of Milan during the famous "five days," being a follower of the republican principles of Giuseppe Mazzini. He soon realized, however, that the safety of his country depended on the success of Piedmont and the Savoy dynasty, so that in 1859 we find him in Lombardy, since he was a Milanese by birth, as one of the most ardent followers of Count Cavour, enlisting volunteers and preparing for the invasion by the Piedmontese. In 1863 he became for the first time Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1866 he was Ambassador to Constantinople, but soon Bettino Ricasoli called him to take once more the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, in which position he was when Rome was entered by the Italians and the Temporal Power

came to an end, when he gave valuable assistance in drafting the Law of Guarantees regulating the relations between Church and State. At the fall of the Lanza Cabinet in 1873, he remained at the Foreign Office under Minghetti, so that he was Minister when the famous "end" of the Right took place in 1876, and the Left for the first time came to power. Victor Emmanuel II made him a Marquis, King Humbert a Senator, and it was twenty years before he was again Minister of Foreign Affairs, when, after the defeat in Abyssinia, the King begged him to enter the Rudinì Cabinet to raise the prestige of the nation. It is interesting to recall that in his absence from office in 1894, he was one of the arbiters between England and the United States in the question of the Behring Sea seal fishery.

The presence of Marquis Visconti Venosta at the Foreign Office gave to the policy of Italy in a most critical moment that firm and at the same time courteous tone which is his gift and which helped Italy to resume her position in Europe. He has always been warmly francophile while scrupulously loyal to the Austro-German allies, and he was therefore a valuable collaborator to Marquis di Rudinì and Signor Luzzatti in that *rapprochement* with the Republic, which was greatly assisted by his conclusion of a treaty about Tunis which practically recognized the French protectorate there, and paved the way to the new Commercial Treaty between Paris and Rome. From this dates the new attitude of Italy as a member of the Triple Alliance, ceasing to be antagonistic

and in some cases even aggressive towards France in order to become sincerely friendly towards that nation, to which she is linked by racial and historic ties and by so many material interests. This was chiefly due to the intelligent and successful efforts of two distinguished men, M. Barrère, who, appointed Ambassador of France to Italy at the beginning of 1898, completely changed the provocative attitude which his predecessors had maintained towards the young kingdom, and Signor Luzzatti, who, with the faith and ardour of one accomplishing a great mission, equally to the advantage of both countries, initiated negotiations for the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty after a tariff war which had lasted ten years. Marquis Visconti Venosta worked in accord with Great Britain during the Greco-Turkish war and the Cretan troubles which led to the concession of an autonomous government for the island under the protection of Great Britain, Russia, France, and Italy. He arranged that Rome should be the meeting-place for the representatives of the four protecting powers, while Admiral Canevaro was made Commander of the international naval forces in Crete, acquiring such distinction as to become in his turn Minister of Foreign Affairs during the first part of the Cabinet of General Pelloux. It was under him that the Commercial Treaty with France was concluded at the end of 1898. Admiral Canevaro deserves mention for two events of importance with which his name is connected—the International Conference for the repression of anarchy, convoked in Rome at the end of 1898, and for his successful

diplomacy in preventing the Vatican from participating in the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1900. The widespread horror caused throughout the world by the assassination of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria by the Italian anarchist Lucheni at Lucerne, suggested to Canevaro the idea of the International Conference which demonstrated to the foreign experts sent to the Italian Capital that from the point of view of police organization and the treatment of criminals Italy left nothing unattempted to check the dastardly plans of those who, though born on her soil, were outcasts from the family of nations. The meetings took place at the Palazzo Corsini, next door to the great modern Regina Coeli prison, shown to the delegates as a tangible proof of what Italy had accomplished in the penitentiary system ; but the Conference had no practical result, and a year and a half later another anarchist killed King Humbert.

Admiral Canevaro fell, only a few months later, owing to his failure to secure for Italy the coaling station at San Mun in China, being succeeded in May 1899 by Marquis Visconti Venosta, who kept the same position under the Saracco Cabinet. Following the principles and teaching of his great master, Cavour, who had set the example with the expedition to the Crimea, Marquis Visconti Venosta in 1900 sent an Italian contingent of 2000 men to join the international forces which, under General von Waldersee, put down the outbreak in the Far East. His last period of office as Foreign Minister was especially important for his foresight in paving the way for the occupation of Tripoli,

which was to occur eleven years later. In 1899 an Anglo-French Convention had been concluded with regard to Tripoli, which caused great irritation in Italy, as the two countries, by dividing between them the hinterland of that province which Italy already considered as her future possession, deprived her of the riches of the interior by directing them either to Egypt or Tunis. Marquis Visconti Venosta came to an understanding with France by which that Power agreed that she would claim no other territory to the east of the hinterland. Almost at the same time he concluded a Convention with Austria regarding Albania, which had been a constant cause of antagonism and competition between the two countries, as it was evident that the Adriatic would be under the control of that one of the two Powers who established herself at Valona. In the Convention both Italy and Austria pledged themselves not to occupy territory in Albania, and not to support any change in the present *status quo* there unless it should lead to an autonomous organization of that province. The agreement with France was completed by Signor Prinetti, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Zanardelli Cabinet, who by renouncing for Italy all claims to interference in Morocco, induced the Republic to promise to give Italy a free hand in Tripoli, if and when the young kingdom should decide to occupy it. This was considered a great achievement, due to a large extent to the ability of Ambassador Barrère, whose success in re-establishing good relations between the two countries and in promoting throughout the Peninsula waves of sym-

pathy for France reached then a high point. Two years before, the French squadron of the Mediterranean had visited Cagliari, and Signor Prinetti and M. Barrère arranged that an Italian squadron, commanded by the Duke of Genoa, should visit Toulon, in April 1901, where the reception and the festivities were so enthusiastic as to cancel all remembrance of past troubles.

M. Barrère thought that he was on the point of realizing his ambitious visions of the retirement of Italy from the Triple Alliance which was about to expire. Germany, who had been watching closely what was going on, began to appear restless as to the attitude and plans of her southern ally, while Signor Prinetti dreamed of obtaining considerable advantages for his country from the situation. It seems that at the suggestion, or at least with the assistance of M. Barrère, he compiled quite a number of changes to be introduced into the text of the Alliance, which would have entirely altered its character. It is reported that the French Ambassador was the first to realize that Germany would never accept such propositions, but he backed them in the hope that, considering the impetuosity of Signor Prinetti's temper, the refusal of Germany would be followed by the denunciation of the Treaty. The question of the renewal of the Alliance came up in Venice in June 1902, where the Chancellor von Bülow and Signor Prinetti met and lunched at the Hôtel Danieli with other personages. When lunch was over, the Chancellor simply called the Italian Minister into the embrasure of a window, and showing the text of the Triple

Alliance unchanged and ready for renewal, said that he could not admit of any discussion, using the phrase, "C'est à prendre ou à laisser." Signor Prinetti, who was first and foremost a patriot, knowing that Italy was not prepared to abandon what had been the basis of her foreign policy for twenty years, induced himself to renew the Treaty until 1914. M. Barrère, with true French tact, continued his persistent efforts to bring about a lasting *rapprochement* between the two countries, and his efforts were crowned by the visit of the Italian sovereigns to Paris in October 1903, and its return by President Loubet, in April 1904, which, being the first visit of the ruler of an important Catholic State to the King of United Italy in the old papal palace of the Quirinal, marked the definite rupture between the Holy See and the Republic. Italy showed her appreciation of the advances made by Paris on several occasions, notably when, faithful to the agreement concluded under Signor Prinetti concerning Morocco, she was of assistance to the Republic at the Algeiras Conference in 1906, where Marquis Visconti Venosta, the Italian delegate, not only sided with France, but employed in her favour the great influence which his long experience and venerable personality exercised there. As can easily be understood, this caused considerable irritation in Germany, which was exemplified by that famous phrase of Prince von Bülow's accusing Italy of giving extra waltz-turns to all and sundry. The francophile party became stronger every day, helped by several tactless manifestations in Germany and especially



in Austria, where the ultramontane and military party missed no opportunity to hurt the feelings of the Italians, either protesting against the situation of the Pope and speaking of the restoration of the Temporal Power, or boasting that the Austrian army was ready to walk over the frontier and make what they called "a promenade to Milan." As though such manifestations were not sufficient, conditions between the two countries were rendered worse by what was considered in Italy an unjust treatment of the Italians still subject to the Hapsburg Empire, which, after having for five centuries vainly tried to Germanize them, was now reviving the atavic Slav feeling of the peasants around Trieste, and in Istria and Dalmatia, in order to destroy the Italian character given to that population during the Venetian occupation. All persecution brings about a reaction, and the Italians subject to Austria answered the new Slavonic propaganda by claiming their right to have a university of their own like the other nationalities of the Empire, while Italians had always been obliged either to attend the neighbouring German universities or to cross the frontier into Italy. Naturally, Austria refused on the ground that an Italian university at Trieste would mean the creation there of a centre of Irredentism. The agitation rose so high that the Austrian Government saw the necessity of yielding to a certain extent, and created an Italian Faculty of Law at the University of Innsbruck; but the remedy was worse than the disease. First of all, the largest Italian population and the most widespread Italian culture is in

Trieste and Istria, and not in the Trentino, near which is Innsbruck, the capital of the Austro-German Tyrol, where strong resentment exists against the Italians of the neighbouring province of Trent, whom they have never been able to absorb or dominate. Thus the dissatisfaction was general, and it was exemplified in the most brutal and uncivilized attacks on the part of the numerous German students of Innsbruck, helped by the mob, against the few Italian students who had accepted the hospitality offered to them, so that they were obliged to defend their lives with their revolvers, and several casualties occurred on both sides. These incidents, repeated on different occasions, had their echo in Vienna, where further attacks were made against Italian students, and in Italy, where the violent Irredentist demonstrations of past years were resumed, while on the Adriatic, the peaceful fisher-folk of Chioggia were exposed to the attacks of the semi-barbarous inhabitants of the opposite shore. In addition there was and is a much greater and more vital question which divides the two countries, the supremacy in the Adriatic, with which is connected the degree of influence that Austria and Italy can exercise in the Balkans, and above all in Albania. There is an understanding between Italy and Austria to respect the *status quo* in that Ottoman region, but it is mistrusted on both sides, and both sides do their best to improve their position without violating the letter of the understanding. Italy has a considerable hold on the Balkans, where Austria is certainly not beloved ; but Austria had a success when, together

with Russia, she concluded the Mürzteg agreement, by which Russian and Austrian financial agents were appointed for the reforms to be introduced in Macedonia, thus excluding Italy, who had her revenge when one of her Generals, De Giorgis, was appointed Commander of the International Gendarmerie in Macedonia. He was followed by General di Robilant, who, later on, entered altogether the service of Turkey at Constantinople, remaining there until the end of 1911, when Italy declared war on account of Tripoli.

One of the most critical moments was shortly after Baron Aehrenthal assumed the Chancellorship in Austria, when at the beginning of 1908 he announced the approaching construction of a railway to join the Austrian lines through the Sandjak of Novibazar to Mitrovitz, which would have meant practically the control of the Balkans by Austria, allowing her to reach Salonika. The commotion was intense in Italy as well as in the Balkan States and Russia, and when it was found that the Sultan had granted the permission to build the projected railway, a new line was planned by Italy, Montenegro, Servia, and Russia, which was to cross the Balkans from the Adriatic to the Danube and the Black Sea, Italian capital providing nearly half the cost. The unexpected advent of the Young Turks at Constantinople upset this project, as they hurriedly withdrew the concession which the former Sultan had given to Austria, so that the great commercial and strategical railway competition evaporated. Things had scarcely calmed down, and Signor Tittoni, the Italian Minister of Foreign

Affairs, had just met Baron Aehrenthal in Salzburg, issuing after the meeting one of the usual semi-official communications saying that they had found themselves in perfect accord on every question, when in October 1908 the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the administration of which the Treaty of Berlin had entrusted to Austria, was announced by autograph letters from the Emperor Francis Joseph to the different rulers without any previous understanding between the respective Governments. Signor Tittoni found himself in a worse position than the other Ministers of Foreign Affairs, as, besides having just met Baron Aehrenthal, he had also delivered a speech at Carate, in Lombardy, where he said that Italy could await any event with serenity, as she was "neither unprepared nor isolated." The indignation which the annexation caused was extraordinary—it was called "an act of brigandage." Servia prepared for war, Italy and Turkey assumed an almost aggressive attitude, and it was said that the resentment of the English Government was so great that the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a certain moment, trusting the statements made by Sir Edward Grey, expected that the British Mediterranean squadron would be sent to make a naval demonstration before Trieste or Pola. All this, however, vanished, it was said, through the personal influence of King Edward VII, who did not consider the alteration in the status of the two Ottoman provinces, which Austria had in reality possessed for thirty years, worth provoking serious complications in Europe. On the other hand, Russia did not support Servia in her bellicose attitude, so that Italy

and the Balkan States concerned had to be satisfied with what Austria was willing to concede, which consisted in renouncing the rights granted to her by the Treaty of Berlin, by which she had under her naval jurisdiction the coast of Montenegro, who was forbidden to have warships, and in abandoning the military posts which, also in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin, she was entitled to keep in the Sandjak of Novibazar. That year ended with a memorable speech delivered by Signor Fortis in the Chamber, on the occasion of the passing of larger appropriations for the Army and Navy, in which he reached the highest point in his career as a great orator, when he admonished Austria to be cautious, not to try too far the patience of the Italians, nor to make the mistake of thinking that the Italy of to-day is still the Italy of 1848 and 1866. Such words coming from an ex-Premier, on such an occasion, caused an immense outburst of enthusiasm, in which all parties joined, and the Bill was passed almost without discussion. It was Fortis's political farewell, as he died not long after.

Later, Austro-Italian relations improved chiefly through the efforts of that very Baron Aehrenthal who had imperilled them in the past, and when he died, at the beginning of 1912, he was sincerely regretted in Italy. The war with Turkey over Tripoli revealed to the Italians an unexpected unfriendliness in most of the European countries. At first it seemed that France was the only exception, but evidently she was merely continuing the policy which she had followed for about twelve years, trying to detach Italy from the Central Empires. The

visit of Herr Kiderlen Waechter, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1912 once more destroyed French hopes, and the resentment of the Republic soon manifested itself through the incidents caused by the capture by the Italians of the French steamers *Carthage* and *Manouba*.

The indignation in Italy can be measured by the fact that for the first time, as a sign of protest against the attitude of France, the cry of "Long live Austria" was heard. On March 24, Emperor William going to Corfu stopped in Venice, where he was met by King Victor Emmanuel and received an enthusiastic reception, as it was supposed that he would exercise his influence for the conclusion of peace with Turkey on conditions acceptable to Italy. It was also generally believed that the meeting would assure the renewal of the Triple Alliance either for six years, to 1920, or for twelve, to 1926.

## CHAPTER IV

### COLONIAL EXPANSION

Italy's refusal to join England in Egypt—The purchase of the Bay of Assab—The occupation of Massowah—The reverse of Dogali—British mediation—Death of Emperor Johannes and advent of Menelik—The Treaty of Ucciali—The butchery of Amba Alagi—Heroic resistance at Makallé—Baratieri's "military phthisis"—The disaster of Adowa—Partial withdrawal from the Colony under Rudinì—Commerce of Erythrea—Benadir and Italian Somaliland—The annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica—Incidents of the war

WITHOUT going back to the days of Ancient Rome, when Italy showed herself the greatest military colonizer that the world has known, it is only necessary to glance at the Italy of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, whose navigators and explorers were found everywhere, and whose sailors and adventurers from Genoa and Venice, from Pisa and Amalfi, civilized the waste places around the Mediterranean and made their influence felt on all the shores of the Levant, to realize the instinct for travel and colonization that is inherent in the Italian character, and that has found its vent in United Italy in an emigration which enormously exceeds that of any other nation.

The population of Italy rose in twenty years from little over 99 to 115 inhabitants to the square kilometre, and without the outlet of emigration its density would have surpassed that of Great Britain, England, France, and Germany were all appropriating different regions of the great African continent, and it is little to be wondered at if Italian statesmen tried to find some unoccupied spot where the diligence and capacity of their sons might still be an asset to the distant Fatherland. A perhaps excessive prudence and desire not to wound the susceptibilities of France, together with financial considerations, caused her to fail to take advantage of the first opportunity that presented itself, when in 1882 Italy was invited by Lord Granville, after France's refusal of co-operation, to join in the work of regulating the finances and bringing back the reign of law and order in Egypt.

In 1869, the spirit of the old merchant princes of Genoa showed itself in their descendants, who urged the authorities to support them in opening up the shores of the Red Sea to Italian commerce, and in March 1870, with the financial assistance of the Government, Signor Rubattino bought the Bay of Assab, with the neighbouring island of Darmakieh, for L. 1880.

The Italians were certainly unfortunate in the spot they occupied and in the moment they chose for so doing. They found themselves faced with the only native military organization existing in the African continent, which was supported by the Greeks for commercial reasons, by the Russians in consequence of religious ties, and finally, by the



French, whose antagonism to Italy had then reached an acute stage, and whose aspirations after Massowah, in order to strengthen their occupation of the colony of Obock, were well known. Lord Granville, on being asked by Signor Mancini, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, whether England would have any objection to the young kingdom settling definitely on the Red Sea, encouraged the occupation of Massowah and went so far as to allude to a possible Anglo-Italian co-operation in the Sudan. This gave the Italians, rightly or wrongly, the impression that their going to Erythrea was due to English advice, indeed, was done to please England, and that therefore England owed Italy a certain amount of help and was more or less responsible for the misfortunes which afterwards befell the latter.

When they decided on going to Massowah, the Italians hoped to be requested to help Great Britain in the annihilation of Mahdism, but almost contemporaneously with their landing Khartum fell, while the resignation of the Gladstone Cabinet put an end to their being entrusted with the occupation of Suakim.

In 1885, the massacre in the Haussa country of an exploring party under Signor Bianchi, Royal Commissioner for Assab, caused an Italian expedition to be sent to restore the prestige of Italy, notwithstanding protests from Turkey and Egypt. During the first four months of that year, Massowah and the neighbouring places which formed what was later called the Erythrea Colony were occupied. The Negus remonstrated against the taking of his

country, and Ras Alula, chief of the Tigré, the region nearest to Erythrea, wrote a letter threatening that if the Italian troops were not withdrawn by the end of January 1887, friendship between them would cease, and in fact, almost immediately he began to march against the Italian possessions, and on January 25, 1887, assaulted Saati, and although he was repulsed the next day, at Dogali, he attacked three companies, which, after several hours' fighting, were almost destroyed, only 90 men out of 524 being carried to the hospital at Massowah.

The Abyssinians who had attacked the small Italian detachment numbered over 20,000 men, and although the Italian commander, Colonel de Cristoforis, was able to occupy an advantageous position on a height, they were soon entirely surrounded. The Italians caused severe losses to the enemy, who were, however, speedily reinforced, and when all their ammunition was exhausted Colonel de Cristoforis turned to the remnant of wounded men who still survived, exclaiming, "Let us die like soldiers!" Then, pointing to the heaps of their dead comrades around them, he ordered, "Present arms!" and to the astonishment of their enemies they remained in that position until they were all killed.

As generally happens in Latin countries after a colonial reverse, the Depretis Cabinet was overthrown and an appropriation of L. 200,000 was voted to provide the colony with what was considered a sufficient military organization to protect it from further disasters. Signor Crispi, who joined the

reformed Depretis Cabinet, realized that the situation in Erythrea was serious and that greater efforts and greater sacrifices were necessary to restore Italian prestige, so he obtained from Parliament another appropriation of L. 800,000, which made it possible to send to Massowah 20,000 men and provide for the fortification of the colony. Meanwhile, Lord Salisbury, speaking to Count Corti, the Italian Ambassador in London, proposed with much tact a British mediation between Abyssinia and Italy, chiefly with the object of directing the Abyssinian trade to Massowah and thus serving the interests of both parties. Great Britain would have been pleased to put an end to conflicts between the Negus and the Italians, as they resulted in strengthening the position of the Mahdi. Count Corti, who had no instructions on the subject, did not answer, and shortly after Lord Salisbury communicated to the Ambassador a letter from the Negus to Queen Victoria, in which he complained of the aggressive attitude of the King of Italy. Lord Salisbury renewed his suggestion of England's good offices, and Depretis, who meanwhile had been informed by the Ambassador, answered that Italy would certainly not take the first step towards reconciliation, and that the "Negus must ask peace, and submit to the Italian demands, reduced of course to the most reasonable limits." Lord Salisbury would have preferred a more conciliatory attitude, but the answer from Rome was that the Government was obliged to take into account the public opinion of the nation justly irritated. Finally, Crispi, on October 29, 1887, sent to London what

he called the "minimum conditions" for peace with Abyssinia, which comprised an expression of regret on the part of the Negus for the attack of Ras Alula ; the definite occupation of some points by Italy ; an Italian protectorate over two neighbouring regions ; and a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce. Sir Gerald Portal left Massowah the same day with a mission to the Negus on these lines, but he returned two months later, having entirely failed, and reporting that the Negus was preparing to attack the Italians with an army of 100,000 men. A few months later Emperor Johannes descended to within a few miles of the Italian forces, and on March 26, 1888, addressed to their commander, General San Marzano, a letter in which he asked him to abandon Abyssinia and leave the port of Massowah open to commerce as in the past. San Marzano answered, reiterating the conditions communicated by Sir Gerald Portal, whereupon the Negus wrote another letter, in which he definitely declined to cede the countries which, he said, Christ had given to him and his ancestors had governed. The Italians persisted in considering the region which they had demanded from the Negus as necessary to the safety of Massowah, so both sides prepared for war.

Meanwhile, the vassal King of Shoa, Menelik, rebelled against the Negus, who, finding himself threatened on either hand, retired, and died in March 1889, at Metammah, while fighting the Dervishes. Crispi thought to take advantage of the conflict between the Negus and his vassal, and the civil war which followed on the death of the

former occupying Keren and Asmara in August 1890.

The pretenders to the succession of the late Emperor were Menelik, who as King of Shoa had the best organized troops of Ethiopia, and Ras Mangascià, a natural son of Johannes, who stood for the tradition of the Imperial family. At that time Italy was represented in Shoa by one of her greatest authorities on colonial affairs, Count Antonelli, who made Menelik understand that his success depended chiefly on Italy's assistance, and the latter realized the situation so well that he begged the Count to urge his country to occupy Asmara, in order to help him against his enemy, as in this way Ras Mangascià would be taken between two fires. Antonelli promised what Menelik desired, but asked him in exchange to conclude a treaty of friendship and commerce, establishing the relations between the two Powers, which Menelik consented to do, and signed it at Ucciali on May 2, 1889. This treaty was a very apple of discord and led to the disaster of Adowa.

A mission from the Negus Menelik arrived in Rome in August 1889, led by Degiac Makonnen, later on Ras of Harrar, the best province of Shoa, who was the most intelligent of Menelik's lieutenants, and also the one who knew most of European ideas and civilization. King Humbert ratified the Treaty of Ucciali, the essential part of which was Clause 17, which ran as follows: "His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia consents to employ the Government of His Majesty the

King of Italy for the treatment of all questions concerning other Powers and Governments." This was practically equivalent to an Italian protectorate over Abyssinia, and in fact Italy, even before Makonnen's departure in November, communicated this important clause to all the great Powers, giving it the significance of a real protectorate over Ethiopia.

General Baldissera first, and General Orero afterwards, pushed forward the occupation of the Tigré, going as far as Adowa, conquered on January 26, 1890, which represented the definite defeat of Ras Mangascià, who had his stronghold in Tigré and was therefore obliged to submit to Menelik.

As long as he was occupied in overcoming one by one his rivals in Abyssinia, the Negus had been willing to promise anything that Italy desired. No sooner, however, had he gained the ascendancy over his opponents than he repudiated the idea of recognizing the Italian protectorate, and in 1892 came to open rupture. When Menelik informed the European Governments of his ascension to the throne of Judah, England and Germany, with the intention of pleasing Italy, answered that they had noted his communication, but that, according to Clause 17 of the Treaty of Ucciali, he should have made the communication through the Italian Government. Menelik protested vigorously that the treaty which he had ratified, written in Amharic, did not correspond to what he now understood was the Italian version, as he had never intended to grant to Italy or any other country



EMPEROR MENELIK





a protectorate over Abyssinia. He explained that Clause 17 in his text ran: "His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia *may* employ the Government of His Majesty the King of Italy," etc., and not "His Majesty the King of Ethiopia *consents* to employ," etc.

Meanwhile, the situation of Italy in Erythrea suffered from two causes, one in the colony, where the military element was too eager for warlike enterprises, and the other at home, in consequence of the political rivalry between Crispi and Rudinì. On the advent of the latter to power his greatest desire was to prove that all his predecessor had done was wrong, and he therefore made no difficulty in renouncing the famous Clause 17 of the Treaty of Ucciali, and in satisfying Menelik's claims as to the frontier by agreeing to the appointment of natives as heads of the disputed territories. He certainly succeeded in securing peace, but many thought that he did not secure the dignity of his country, and that the weakness shown could only bear the fruit of graver calamities in future.

England and Italy had entered into an agreement on April 15, 1891, with regard to the Sudan, which defined the frontier of Ras Kasar and the Blue Nile, and according to which, if the Italian advance should continue in that direction and their military requirements should oblige them to take Kassala, the Gate of the Sudan on that side, they would keep it on behalf of the Egyptian Government, to be returned to the latter whenever they were in a position to hold it.

About the end of 1893, the Dervishes, who had been preparing to revenge a defeat suffered at Agordat, began to advance towards that garrison, which numbered only a little over 2000 men, mostly natives, commanded by Colonel Arimondi, who attacked the enemy and put them to flight, although they were over 10,000 strong. The losses of the Dervishes were 1120 men, and they left 72 standards of war on the field, while the Italian casualties were 243. Shortly afterwards, General Baratieri, who had been appointed Governor of Erythrea in 1892, hurried back from Italy, understanding that Agordat would be open to further attack on the part of the Dervishes. He decided to secure Kassala, their base of operations on that side, a position in the Hinterland which protected the Italian colony and which he occupied, with a force of 2500 men, in July 1894.

Things were not going equally well on the Abyssinian side. Menelik, encouraged, as had been foretold, by the concessions of the Italians, at the beginning of 1893, denounced the whole Treaty of Ucciali, but the Premier, Signor Giolitti, did not pay much attention to this, so that when, shortly after, Signor Crispi returned to power, he found the difficulties in order to come to terms with the King of Kings almost insurmountable. A mission which he sent to Menelik, with the object of concluding another treaty, was a failure and a fresh encouragement to the Abyssinians to take advantage of the Italian yieldingness. Meanwhile, Mangascià, in consequence of

Italy's undecided attitude towards him, made complete submission to Menelik, agreed on a plan to free the country from the hated invaders, and when General Baratieri sent him word to co-operate with the Italians in a movement against the Dervishes, the Ras did not even answer. It was evident that a vast campaign was being organized against Erythrea, and that any delay would be for the advantage of the enemy. General Baratieri decided to strike a blow which he thought would induce the Abyssinians to sue for peace, and he therefore entered the Tigré and marched towards Adowa. The Italian General aimed more at a military demonstration than anything else, so much so that after a few days at Adowa he withdrew, being short of provisions. He soon, however, realized that he had not produced the effect he expected, as Mangascià attacked him in January 1895, but was routed first at Coatit, and then at Senafé, where he left all his camp belongings, including letters exchanged with Menelik showing their entire accord, and also proving that the French Lazarists, who had been the only Roman Catholic missionaries allowed in the country, had joined the Abyssinians in the anti-Italian plot. This strong argument was used by the Italian Government to obtain from the Vatican the removal of the Lazarists, who were substituted by Italian Franciscans.

The victories, on the one side against the Dervishes, and on the other against the Tigrins, caused in Italy a most dangerous feeling of supposed superiority over the Abyssinians.

General Baratieri was ordered to conquer the province of Tigré, which he occupied in March 1895, again taking Adowa, the capital, on April 1, whence, to make a still greater impression, he proceeded to Axum, the Holy City of the Abyssinians. Baratieri underrated the strength of the enemy, and did not provide the colony and the vast territory invaded either with sufficient men or with the fortifications required.

He enjoyed great prestige in Italy, chiefly because he was from Trent, one of the Italian towns still subject to Austria, and had been a volunteer under Garibaldi, but he evidently did not realize the gravity of the occasion. He went to Italy and spent much valuable time in being received as a hero, with triumphal arches and banquets, so that when he hurried back to Massowah the situation was already somewhat compromised, and he began to lose his head. He sent Major Toselli with 2000 men to occupy Amba Alagi, where at the beginning of December they were attacked, not by Mangascià alone, but by the first contingent of the Abyssinian army, 40,000 strong.

The Italian force was annihilated, only a little over 250 of them, with three officers, escaping the butchery. The heroism of Toselli and his soldiers was followed by that of Major Galliano, who, having been left to defend the fortified position of Makallé with a very small garrison, performed miracles of valour for two weeks against the whole army of Menelik, which included 30,000 of the best troops of Harrar, led by

Ras Makonnen. The courage and endurance of the besieged was so great as to astonish the Negus and his lieutenants. After having employed all their forces to capture the small fort or to induce Major Galliano to yield, the latter having answered that they would all rather die than surrender, they opened negotiations with General Baratieri, demonstrating the impossibility of Galliano's continuing to resist, professing their admiration for him, and asking that he should be ordered to retire, they on their part promising him all the honours of war. The enthusiasm which this episode aroused, not only in Italy but abroad, was immense, and Emperor William sent Major Galliano a sword of honour as a token of his admiration. General Baratieri allowed the capitulation of Makallé, and on January 21, 1896, Major Galliano, at the head of his handful of survivors, left the fort, carrying with them all the arms they possessed, the scanty provisions that remained to them, their ammunition and wounded, and passing between two long lines of enemies, who rendered them military honours, they reached the Italian head-quarters.

By this time General Baratieri and the Government realized the very critical position of the comparatively small Italian forces, confronted with 100,000 well-trained Abyssinians, armed with rifles of French and Russian origin, and having good artillery and provisions for several months. Crispi's statesmanlike mind understood that the prestige of the country was at stake, and that nothing should be left unattempted to ensure eventual success. He hurried out reinforcements,

and together with King Humbert, went to Naples to bid farewell to the soldiers leaving for Africa, to whom the King addressed a speech, in which he said that the Italian flag would never be lowered from where it had been planted. At the same time Crispi conceived the idea of placing the Abyssinians between two fires by attacking them from the rear with an expedition from the English port of Zeila, having secured from Great Britain the permission to land a contingent of Italian troops there. His trained eye saw that the more the decisive moment approached, the less General Baratieri was able to cope with the situation, and that, now fearing the worst, he was taking refuge in inaction. The agitation in Italy rose to such a point that Crispi, at the end of February, secretly dispatched General Baldissera to replace Baratieri, at the same time telegraphing to the latter saying that what was going on was not war but "military phthisis." Whether it was the effect of this dispatch or the news which perhaps leaked out that he was about to be superseded, the fact is that General Baratieri decided to risk all on one throw. He held a council of war, in which his suggestion of a general attack on March 1 was approved, also because the lack of provisions due to the want of roads and means of transport would have forced them to retreat within a few days. They decided to make four divisions; three of almost the same strength, being respectively commanded by Generals Albertone, Arimondi, and Dabormida, numbered 14,000 men, and were destined to engage in the battle, while the fourth, over 5000 strong,

under General Ellena, constituted the reserve, either to help in the fight or to protect the retreat. The battle took place at sunrise, near Adowa. Through what seems to have been a fault in the maps, General Albertone misunderstood the position from which he was to attack, found himself alone with 4000 men, confronted by the entire Abyssinian army, was surrounded and made prisoner, while part of his disorganized troops threw into confusion the division of General Dabormida, who, hurrying to their help, remained isolated from the division of General Arimondi, and was defeated, while the same fate befell the last division, both Generals being killed, together with most of their officers. Among the latter was the heroic Major Galliano, whom the Abyssinians recognized, and considering it a breach of faith his taking up arms against them after Makallé, they directed their attack especially against him, and he fell, literally covered with wounds. Nearly half the Italians were killed, as over 6000 bodies were left on the battlefield, of whom over 3000 were whites, and 4000 were taken prisoners. The remainder were forced to such a disorderly retreat that the division under General Ellena was practically unable to assist, and was obliged to join them, sustaining fresh losses, the General himself being wounded. The victory of the Abyssinians was dearly bought, their losses between dead and wounded being nearly as numerous as the whole Italian army, the dead being about 6000 and the wounded 8000, so that they did not dare to pursue their retreating enemy, who

had still sufficient energy to face the situation, as was proved when, shortly afterwards, General Baldissera on landing succeeded in reorganizing the remaining troops, infusing into them fresh vigour, and leading them to a retaliatory movement which freed the garrison of Adigrat, cut off by the Abyssinians, and that of Kassala, definitely defeating the Dervishes who were besieging that place.

This great reverse, unprecedented in the colonial history of any country, could not but have grave effects in Italy, where the population was far from being prepared to face such an appalling disaster. Riots broke out in several districts, and in some places the mob destroyed the railway tracks to prevent the passing of the trains carrying reinforcements of troops to be dispatched to Africa. Signor Crispi and his Cabinet resigned amidst general indignation, as they were held responsible for the catastrophe; 138 deputies out of 500 voted in favour of the complete abandonment of the colony, but Marquis di Rudinì, who succeeded to the Premiership, adopted a middle course, which represented, however, a policy diametrically opposed to that followed by Signor Crispi. He ordered General Baldissera to treat for peace and for the restitution of the prisoners, who, meanwhile, had been taken from Adowa to Shoa, leaving a track of dead and wounded on the road. He decided to renounce all idea of a protectorate over Abyssinia, recognizing its entire independence, and resigned any claim to the Tigré; while on the other side he notified to the Egyptian Government



that he desired to return to them the fort of Kassala, now, in consequence of the victory of Omdurman, open to them from the interior, and it was in fact occupied by the Anglo-Egyptians in December 1897. It was also decided that the cost of the Erythrea Colony was to be limited to a little over L. 350,000 a year.

Leo XIII, who left nothing unattempted to affirm the political importance of the Papacy, thought that if the release of the Italian prisoners could have been obtained through his influence the Holy See would have acquired in the eyes of the Italians an immense prestige. He called to Rome Monsignor Macario, the Coptic Catholic Bishop of Egypt, and, taking advantage of the similarity of his religion with that of the Abyssinians, sent him to Menelik with the mission to effect the return of the Italian prisoners to the Pope. The Negus, however, even on that occasion showed how shrewd he was. He knew that he had nothing to gain by satisfying the wishes of the Pontiff and preferred to come to terms with the Italians, to whom he returned the prisoners in exchange for an indemnity of L. 400,000.

Marquis di Rudinì completed the radical change in the character of the Erythrea Colony by removing its Governorship from the military, and giving it for the first time to a civilian, in the person of one of the most enlightened of politicians and brilliant of writers, the ex-Minister and Deputy Ferdinando Martini, who held the office until a few years ago, being succeeded in the same policy by Marquis Salvago-Raggi, a diplomatist who

distinguished himself as Italian Minister to Peking at the time of the Boxer troubles, and later as representative of Italy in Egypt.

Signor Martini was able to carry out the programme which he laid down when he left Italy, saying, "Blessed are those colonies of which no one speaks." Restraining all bellicose tendencies, he succeeded in restoring the confidence of the Abyssinians in Italy, and developed the agricultural, mineral, and commercial interests of the colony, in order to make it self-supporting.

What Italy has spent on the Erythrea Colony from its origin to our days is averaged at about L. 25,000,000, but owing to the policy followed after the disaster of Adowa the colony now almost pays its way, so that to provide its expenses, which amounted in the last budget (1910-11) to L. 559,110, Italy only contributed L. 254,000. In this are included items such as that of L. 200,000 for the construction of the railway between Ghinda and Asmara, which not only will not recur, but will be a means of revenue in future, as the product of the railways already working rose in the budget of 1910-11 from L. 7480 to L. 12,000.

The military expenses, which absorbed in the past an overwhelming proportion of the income, were reduced to less than half the civil expenses, so that now, while the latter are L. 383,582, the former are only L. 175,528. The main exports of the colony to Italy are cattle; coffee, as that from Erythrea enjoys a reduction of duty up to a maximum of 5000 quintals; wheat, the amount admitted free of duty from the colony having been

raised to 50,000 quintals, while foreign wheat entering Italy pays 6s. a quintal; and, above all, cotton. In 1907 the exportation of cotton from Erythrea to Italy amounted to only L. 2600, which rose in 1910 to L. 7450. Erythrea possesses over 210,000 acres of land which can be immediately cultivated with cotton, there being natural irrigation, and it is calculated that it will be able to produce 850,000 quintals gross, representing a value of L. 7,600,000, which, if exported to the mother-country, would make her independent of American importation.

The greatest difficulty in Erythrea with regard to the cotton plantations is not its cultivation, but the lack of suitable means to transport the products to the coast. For this reason, to the Ghinda-Asmara railway, which was finished in 1911, the Asmara-Keren railway will follow. On the other hand, Italy exports to Erythrea coarse cotton cloths, having practically taken the place of India and the United States. In 1904, the first statistics available, Italy exported 1684 quintals of cotton and now surpasses 15,000.

The whole commerce of Erythrea, exports and imports included, is about L. 700,000 yearly, a third of which is with Italy, India coming immediately after with about L. 150,000 of importations, or more than double all the European countries together, with the exception of Italy.

A larger Italian colony than Erythrea, but less well known, is that on the east coast of Africa, extending from the river Giuba to English Somaliland in the Gulf of Aden, and comprising

the territories known as Benadir and Italian Somaliland, which have altogether an area of about 350,000 square miles and 400,000 inhabitants. This settlement was started in 1888 by the demand presented by the Sultan of Obbia to be put under the protectorate of Italy. Signor Crispi, in 1889, officially notified Italy's protectorate over those parts of the east coast of Africa reaching between Kisimayo and Mogadiscio, with the exception of the stations belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar, which in 1891 were comprised in the Italian protectorate under Marquis di Rudinì, with the assistance of England. This formed the colony of Benadir, which, in July 1892, was entrusted to the administration of a private company, the work of which was not a success, and after thirteen years it ceased to exist, and the colony is now under the direct rule of the Italian Government. The northern part, known as Italian Somaliland, had a period of notoriety in the years from 1900 to 1905, owing to the Anglo-Italian action against the Mad Mullah, which issued in the peace concluded at Illig, on March 5, 1905, between the English and the Mullah, the negotiator of which was Comm. Pestalozza, as Special Envoy of the Italian Government. In consequence of this, the Mullah settled under the Italian protectorate in the territory of Nogal, extending at the back of Illig, but he understood peace in his own way, employing his Dervishes in raiding the country ruled by the Sultans protected by Italy, and had even planned to invade Benadir when his power was destroyed by an excommunication launched against him by

the Sheik Mohammed Saleh el Raschid, head of their religion.

The year 1911 will remain famous in the annals of Italy for the celebration of the jubilee of its unity and for the taking of Tripoli. This question was reawakened by the Franco-German dispute over Morocco, especially when in the second half of December it was evident that the whole Mediterranean coast of Africa would be in the hands of the Great Powers, France having Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, and England, Egypt. It was then felt that if that period in which a settlement of Africa was taking place between Germany, France, and Spain had been allowed to pass, Italy would have perhaps lost for ever the possibility of taking the only province still remaining in Northern Africa free from European occupation. To this must be added that rumours were circulating of a German desire to have in Tripoli a *pied-à-terre* in the Mediterranean, of England's intention to extend the Egyptian frontier to the Gulf of Bomba, and even of Austria's aspirations to a more intense Mediterranean policy, as appeared from a speech by Dr. Sylvester, President of the Austrian Chamber. From many quarters the opinion was expressed that Signor Giolitti was not the man for a colonial conquest, as he dislikes adventures, being convinced that what Italy chiefly needs is peace, in order to develop her internal resources, and because he has never shown any special interest in foreign politics ; but the pressure of public opinion and the danger of losing a last opportunity had the effect of making the Premier decide on the im-

mediate expedition to Tripoli. The most ardent partisans of the occupation were the Southerners, and especially the Sicilians, who, on account of their vicinity to the North African coast, expect to obtain the greatest advantage from the new colony, and it happened that both the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Marquis di San Giuliano, and his Secretary of State, Prince di Scalea, were from that island, so that they used their influence for the accomplishment of the desires of their fellow-citizens.

The Porte, especially since the advent of the Young Turks, had been doing all in her power to provoke Italy, treating her as a negligible quantity from whom there was nothing to fear. Once Giolitti decided that there was no way of avoiding the occupation of Tripoli without injuring the dignity of Italy and precluding her for ever from setting foot in North Africa, he set to work with his usual energy and thoroughness to prepare the expedition in such a way as to ensure success. The order of mobilization was given on the 20th of September, and a week later, with a rapidity which surprised all experts, the fleet of one hundred ships in five divisions, with 20,000 men aboard, was ready to enter into action, and on the 27th of that month an ultimatum was sent to Constantinople, giving twenty-four hours' time for Turkey to consent to the Italian occupation of Tripolitaine and Cyrenaica. As usual, Turkey answered evasively, and Italy, on the expiration of the ultimatum, declared war, beginning hostilities immediately with the flotilla of torpedo boats under the command of

the Duke of the Abruzzi, which destroyed the Turkish torpedo boats centred in the Albanian quarter of Prevesa and on the neighbouring coast, thus protecting from any possible attack both the Italian shores of the Adriatic and the transports which were about to carry the troops of the expedition to Tripoli. The Foreign Office, at the beginning of the war, had officially declared its intention of doing its utmost to avoid complications in Turkey outside Tripoli, and particularly in the Balkans, to which effect a special note was sent to the Italian representatives in Greece, Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Roumania, urging them to discourage any agitation.

At Tripoli the war went on with a rapidity and a well-prepared organization which won the admiration of the European Powers; the fleet effected a complete blockade of the coasts of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, having a length of about 1000 miles, while Admiral Faravelli, on October 2, demanded the surrender of the town, and this not having been acceded to, the next day the bombardment began, which must be considered a most humane one, as special care was taken to spare mosques, churches, hospitals, cemeteries, and private property, to such a point that only seven non-combatant civilians were injured. On October 5, at the request of the Arab notabilities of Tripoli, the Turks having retired into the interior, Admiral Faravelli landed 1600 sailors to occupy the town and maintain order, under Commander Cagni, who had distinguished himself during the scientific expeditions of the Duke of the Abruzzi and in the

work of rescue after the Messina earthquake. It was one of the pluckiest events of the war, as the sailors, who were a mere handful for the work they had to do, held the town for about a week, built the entrenchments round the city, and repelled the enemy. This paved the way for the transport and landing of the expeditionary force under the command of General Caneva, which comprised 35,000 men aboard sixty transports which had been provided by adapting transatlantic steamers, a work that had been done in the surprisingly short time of two weeks. The troops occupied Tripoli on the 10th of October, on the 18th they occupied Derna, on the 19th Benghazi, after a fierce fight, during which the soldiers, anxious to meet the enemy, could not be held in, and jumped into the sea from the boats, attacking the enemy with the bayonet. Tobruk, which is perhaps from a military point of view the most important post of the new Italian acquisition, had been taken by Admiral d'Aubry, and is considered a place of strategical importance equalling Biserta.

Consideration for the natives was perhaps pushed to an extreme both in the manifestos addressed by General Caneva to the people in assuming the Governorship of Tripoli, and by trusting too much the professions of friendship of the Arabs after they had submitted. The fruit of this misplaced confidence was not long in ripening, and in a most tragic manner. Almost every day there had been brushes with the enemy at the outposts, Turks and Arabs always retiring with considerable losses. On the 23rd of October, while



the Italians were engaged at the entrenchments of Sciara el Schiat on an unusually violent attack from the enemy, more numerous and more vigorous than in the past, fire was opened against them from the rear. At first they thought it was a mistake of some detachment of their own, but they soon realized that the Arabs of the oases, whom they had considered friends, had risen in arms after exchanging signals with the enemy, so that they were now between two fires. The situation was terrible. Arabs and Turks succeeded in breaking the Italian lines, and a company of Bersaglieri was completely surrounded, the Turks savagely commanding them to yield, but the officer answered, "Bersaglieri never surrender," and they all perished. Reinforcements were rushed up and soon mastered the situation, but the losses of the Italians, the heaviest during the war, amounted to about 400 killed. Naturally, their retaliation was as violent as the provocation, and all Arabs found with arms in the act of firing were shot, which caused false reports to be spread of cruelty committed by the Italians, while instead there were undeniable proofs of fiendish tortures of the wounded Bersaglieri, including crucifixion. That an extraordinary energy in the repression of treachery and of the savage instincts of the natives was indispensable was proved by the revolt which followed inside Tripoli itself, and which necessitated an even more sanguinary severity. Another outcry from the sentimentalists was as unjustified as the former, since the Italian soldiers had done nothing but defend themselves against treasonable aggression.

Those found with arms were arrested, court martialled, some condemned to death, and others, to the number of about 3000, taken as prisoners to the islands of Tremiti and Ustica, off the coast of Italy. The fight continued uninterruptedly, aiming chiefly at the clearance of the oases, where arms and ammunition were constantly found, buried in the soil, hidden inside trees, concealed even in the tombs.

Meanwhile, on November 12, by a royal decree, Tripolitaine and Cyrenaica were proclaimed definitely annexed to the kingdom of Italy, and with the assistance of fresh reinforcements, General Frugoni on the 3rd of December attacked and dislodged the enemy from Ain-Zara and occupied the position.

Turkey had deluded herself that Italy was prevented by the Powers from carrying the war outside of Tripoli, which belief was discredited when the Italian fleet on the 24th of February attacked and sank some old Ottoman warships in the port of Beirut, and on the 18th of April bombarded the Dardanelles while the newly elected Turkish Parliament was meeting for the first time. On the 2nd of the same month the Italian fleet occupied the island of Stampalia, in the lower Ægean Sea as a basis of operations, and on the 4th of May, General Ameglio, with 8000 men, landed at Rhodes, annihilating the Turkish garrison and obliging the remainder to surrender, 1500 of whom were sent as prisoners to Italy. About a dozen more islands were occupied in the following days. Meanwhile, the closure of the Dardanelles after the bombardment caused an energetic exchange of notes

with Turkey, especially on the part of Russia, and the Straits were reopened on the 18th of May. Turkey, on the 20th of the same month, decided on the expulsion of all the Italians in the Ottoman Empire, a measure strongly stigmatized even by the countries most friendly to the Porte, as it was unnecessary, useless, and odious, to the detriment of poor people entirely outside of the conflict, many of whom had been in Turkey for generations and had even forgotten the Italian language.

The resignation of the Said Cabinet on the 17th of July, the formation of that under Muktar Pasha, the rising in Albania, the unrest in the Balkans, and the veiled threat made in August 1912, by Count Berchtold, Austrian foreign minister, of an intervention by the Powers to regulate the situation of European Turkey, brought peace nearer.

The war in Tripoli, for which Italy was unfavourably criticized abroad, had a remarkable effect in drawing together the Italian people and further amalgamating the different parts of the kingdom. It may almost be called a second Unification, for it has demonstrated to the world that the natives of the Peninsula are no more Romans or Neapolitans, Piedmontese or Venetians, but Italians, ready to face any sacrifices or difficulties with patience and fortitude for what they are convinced is for the good of the country at large. Since 1848, the occasion of the first war with Austria, no such union of all Italian parties has been witnessed, with Conservatives and Liberals, Clericals, Socialists, and Republicans all supporting the action of the Government and sympathizing in one aim.

## CHAPTER V

### POLITICAL LIFE

Francesco Crispi—Stormy youth as a conspirator—Strained relations with France under Depretis—Denunciation of navigation and commercial treaties—Return to power after Dogali—Reactionary Conservative attitude—Cavallotti's attacks—Crispi's political death after Adowa—Marquis di Rudinì—Mayor of Palermo—Separatist insurrection dominated—Premier and Foreign Minister—Rudinì's aversion to colonial enterprises—Friendship for France—Cession of Kassala to Egypt—Repression of Milan riots—General Pelloux—Premier after Milan riots—Obstructionism—Voting urns carried off by Socialists—Chamber prorogued—Proposed trial of Socialist members—Standing Orders passed without discussion—Pandemonium in Parliament—Chamber dissolved—General Elections—Moral victory for Opposition—Resignation of Pelloux—Giuseppe Saracco—Statesman of the old school—Expert financier—Premier when King Humbert murdered

THE personality of Italian politicians of the last thirty years is so little known in other countries that internal politics in United Italy can perhaps be best understood by studying the men who took a leading part in them.

Of Francesco Crispi it may be said that the more time places his figure and his deeds in the distance, the greater and the more imposing he appears. He was born about a century ago, on

October 4, 1819, at Ribera (Girgenti), and he is undoubtedly, after Victor Emmanuel II, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, the four great protagonists of the struggle for Italian unity, one of the most characteristic and dominant personalities of that time. Born of the mixed Albanian-Italian blood of Sicily, he was a typical example of the intelligence, the fiery nature, and also of the arrogance of the South. Brought up by his uncle, an ecclesiastic, who hoped to see his nephew a distinguished churchman, Francesco became instead, in turn, lawyer, conspirator, journalist, revolutionist, soldier, administrator, diplomatist, Minister, Premier, and even Dictator.

In the days of his youth the kingdom of Naples, of which Sicily forms a part, was governed by Ferdinand II, known as "Bomba," or the bombardier of his subjects, who, as W. E. Gladstone said in his famous letter, "called himself the Image of God on earth, and appeared to his people but as an example of the most revolting vices." The country seethed with secret societies whose one object was to overthrow this infamous Government, and Francesco Crispi, who had all the southern Italian's love of intrigue and conspiracy, flung himself heart and soul into the movement. He was one of the most influential leaders of the revolution of 1848, and its bounding hopes and bitter disillusion over, he trod the hard path of exile in Marseilles, Turin, Malta, London, and Paris, where he knew Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, and many other patriots, who learnt to appreciate his brilliant gifts and his value as a conspirator. After the conquest of the

kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the "Thousand," Garibaldi and Crispi, the former of whom was for six months Dictator, and the latter his Secretary of State, both left Naples as poor as they had come there, and when Crispi was elected Deputy of the new kingdom of Italy, he had not the money to take him to Turin, where the Parliament then sat, or to provide even in the humblest way for living, and was obliged to depend on the generosity of his friends. He was not very well received in the Piedmontese capital, as people doubted his loyalty to the Monarchical principle, and his aggressive and disdainful pride did not tend to make him beloved. He sat at the Extreme Left, next to Garibaldi, and when asked whether he belonged to Mazzini's party, he replied, "No." "To Garibaldi's?" "No." "Then to whose party do you belong?" "I belong to the party of Crispi! I call myself 'To-morrow'!" and his boast was fully justified as his powerful intellect and volcanic energy, his somewhat theatrical and autocratic personality, and his Southern eloquence made him a marked individuality from the first, and a redoubtable opponent. Crispi in those days was the incarnation of the spirit which in England was later known as "Jingoism." Instead of devoting himself to a policy of retrenchment and hard work, to the pacific development of those industrial, commercial, and scientific energies in which Italians have since proved themselves so rich, he played upon the ambitions of the young nation, which had come into existence so miraculously that her sons dreamed of immediately emulating the achieve-

ments of Ancient Rome or of the great days of the Renaissance, and saw nothing impossible or exaggerated in Crispi's grandiose foreign policy or in his idea of being able to found a great colonial empire without previous study or patient preparation. He remained all his life what Italians call a "quarantottista"—a forty-eightier—a man who was in the right place when he conspired and intrigued to overthrow kings and governments, but who was less successful when he tried to apply the same systems and points of view to the administration of a stable country. Apprehension of his methods in Parliament, and disapproval of his personality at Court, prevented him from entering a Ministry until 1877, when he came to power, together with Depretis, and accomplished some reforms of importance, such as an enlargement of the franchise, alterations in the system of taxation, more effective sanitary laws, the reorganization of charitable institutions, and considerable improvements in the administration of the State. His foreign policy, however, had deplorable results for his country, as he inaugurated an imperialism of which Italy was not then capable either financially or educationally.

Crispi increased the Army and Navy out of all proportion to the resources of the kingdom; he gave to the participation of his Government in the Triple Alliance such an aggressive character as to bring about a rupture with France, a denunciation of the navigation treaty with that country, and the closure of the market which had absorbed over two-thirds of the exportation from Italy. The consequence was the most acute agricultural and

financial crisis that Italy has ever gone through, which lasted about ten years.

Crispi was a notable contradiction to Madame de Staël's axiom that political men have no time either to love or to make themselves beloved, but through all his adventurous life he knew how to be a devoted son, lover, husband, and father. He married when a law student, at the age of nineteen, under intensely romantic circumstances, rescuing his beautiful wife from the jaws of death during a cholera outbreak which carried off her entire family, with the exception of one sister, and marrying her with only the proceeds of the sale of the borrowed horse on which he had rushed to her assistance for their family fortune. The young wife died only two years afterwards, and Crispi sought distraction from his grief in political conspiracy. After the Sicilian Revolution of 1848 he took refuge in Turin, where, in 1853, he was imprisoned at the instance of Austria as a conspirator. While languishing in Palazzo Madama, he fell in love with a beautiful washerwoman, Rosalie Montmasson, who, when Crispi was set at liberty and expelled from Piedmont, accompanied him into exile, sharing his life of privation and aiding his political intrigues. When he was once again expelled, this time from Malta, he desired to make Rosalie his wife, but, being entirely without money, a friend had to provide the wedding-ring, and they were married without any ecclesiastical formalities by a wandering Jesuit priest, who could never afterwards be traced, and who gave them no document to prove his authenticity. Rosalie Mont-



masson clung to Crispi through his chequered career with deep devotion; she shared, in the famous expedition of the Thousand in 1860, receiving a pension and the decoration decreed to all the soldiers who had taken part in it, in addition, the survivors of the heroic legion presented her with a diamond cross, but alas! she who had been so faithful in misfortune was unable to follow her hero when he rose to a high position. She gave way to intemperance and mad extravagance, and Crispi had no choice but to part from her, and her necessities provided for, she spent the rest of her days in Rome, living in the memory of her past happiness and adventures, and ever faithful to the man whom she had truly loved.

At Palermo, in 1872, Crispi met a young widow, Signora Barbagallo, afterwards known as Donna Lina Crispi, fell desperately in love with her, and they were married almost immediately, but only with the religious rite which is not valid in Italy since 1870, but which quite sufficed for her conscience as a Catholic; and it was not until 1878, when Crispi was Minister of the Interior, that the civil marriage took place at Naples, where it came by chance to the knowledge of Nicotera, a political enemy of Crispi's, who communicated the scandal to the newspapers, thus provoking the criminal trial and retirement from office of his adversary, who, although acquitted, could not return to power for nearly ten years. When, however, in 1887, he resumed the helm of the State, he was able to impose his will upon Sovereign and country alike. Crispi, who even when converted to the Monarchical principle held

extremely Liberal views, gradually changed until in the last period of his career he became a reactionary Conservative, and did not hesitate to behave in the most arbitrary manner, violating the Constitution in order to pursue his personal and political enemies. He obtained from Parliament a Bill called the "exceptional Law of Public Security," which cancelled rights till then granted to the people, and allowed the Prime Minister to dissolve all clubs and associations which opposed him, seventy-two of which were closed in Milan alone. Scenes of unparalleled violence took place in the Chamber, and when documents were presented which would have substantiated the accusations brought against him, he played upon the weakness of King Humbert, inducing him to first prorogue and then dissolve Parliament, while the Premier took advantage of his position and command of public funds to libel his enemies and bribe the electors so as to ensure to himself an overwhelming majority in the elections of 1895. Felice Cavallotti, the leader of the Radical party, conducted a ferocious campaign against Crispi, leaving nothing untouched in his public or private life. He summed up the situation by saying: "Italy feels now only one need,—to have Ministers whose honour is above discussion. All the imaginable ameliorations in the internal as well as in the international situation of a country, serve only to make the people more comfortable; but a people which is lax about honour does not live."

In March 1896, Crispi was politically killed by the immense defeat of Adowa, which the nation

felt was due to his arbitrary ambition. Two years later came the verdict of the Parliamentary Committee which was appointed to examine his responsibility as Minister for that terrible fiasco, and although he was not impeached before the Senate, a solemn vote of "political censure" was passed upon him which practically ended his career. After that, without influence and without followers, he continued to sit in the Chamber, but it was painful to friends and foes alike to see such an ending to the life of the man who had acted an epic part in the national struggle for freedom, and who, with all his faults, was certainly the most imposing Italian statesman of his time.

Marquis Antonio Starabba di Rudinì, Crispi's bitterest opponent, was a leading figure in Italian politics during the second half of the nineteenth century. He was born in Palermo in 1839, of a rich and noble family of Norman origin, and added to his family qualifications the power of influencing and leading those around him. He early showed an inclination for political life, indeed he was the first example in the Italian Parliament of a man who, being less than thirty years of age, and therefore ineligible as a deputy, was allowed by royal decree to sit on the Ministerial Bench in the Chamber, and to discuss a Bill in the name of the Government. What first brought the young politician to the notice of the whole country was his energetic attitude when Mayor of Palermo, at the age of twenty-seven. The mob of the Sicilian capital, incited by Clericals and Bourbon partisans, and helped

by the Mafia, hoisted the flag of "Regionalism" and "Separation" against the Peninsula. The young Mayor, without the smallest hesitation, gathered around him all the municipal and governmental forces, and first from the house of the Commune, and then from the Royal Palace, courageously opposed and successfully overpowered the insurrection, showing great courage and power of organization; but the Rudinì Palace was attacked and plundered.

The Government rewarded di Rudinì with a gold medal, and he always said that no other decoration, not even the Collar of the Annunziata, which entitled him to call himself the cousin of the King, gave him so much gratification. His brilliant reputation obtained for him first at Palermo and then at Naples the post of Prefect, which is the highest position a Government official in Italy can have outside the Cabinet, since the Prefect is the direct representative of the Government for a whole province. During his prefecture di Rudinì confirmed his character for courage and inflexibility, and directly he reached the prescribed age he was elected Deputy, and entered the Chamber as a leading Conservative. Almost immediately, in October 1869, General Menabrea entrusted him with the portfolio of the Interior in his Cabinet, and while he was Minister he distinguished himself by refusing to draw his salary, which, however, in Italy is not a very large sum, as a Cabinet Minister gets rather less than a thousand a year.

In politics Marquis di Rudinì was necessarily the violent opponent of his fellow-countryman,

Francesco Crispi, who was revolutionary by instinct and circumstances, and republican in feeling, though intensely patriotic. It is difficult to imagine men more different in every way than these two: Crispi violent, fiery, enthusiastic, a typical Southerner of the people; di Rudinì sceptical, cold, aristocratic, calculating, more resembling a Northerner than a native of the Saracene island; and these two figures and their struggle may be said to have dominated Italian politics in the last part of the nineteenth century, when, after Minghetti's death, di Rudinì practically became his successor. He was Premier for the first time in 1891, succeeding Crispi, and while in power he showed two predominant characteristics,—an aversion for colonial enterprises, and friendship for France. While Crispi favoured the creation of an Italo-African empire, di Rudinì would, if it had been possible, have even given up the Erythrea Colony altogether.

Marquis di Rudinì's Cabinet in 1891, although some members of it belonged to the Left, was saluted as a return of the ancient Right, but was also welcomed by the Extreme Left, which was glad to see the end of the Dictatorship of Crispi. He had as colleague Baron Nicotera, who was then Minister for the last time, and men of such integrity and learning as Pasquale Villari, the historian, Luigi Luzzatti, the great financier, and Luigi Ferraris, the distinguished Piedmontese jurisconsult whom Bersezio called "the musician of phrases." Their programme aimed chiefly at economizing as much as possible in all branches of the administration, and they succeeded in their short term of office in reduc-

ing the expenditure of all the Ministries, so that the dangerous increase of debt was stopped, as was also the equally dangerous increase of taxation, while the alarming cost of the Erythrea Colony was brought within reasonable limits. Marquis di Rudinì, however, did not prove to be such an energetic and far-seeing politician when at the head of the Government as he had promised to be when in opposition, so that in May 1892, after a little more than a year, he was succeeded by the first Cabinet of Signor Giolitti.

In the last period of his political career Marquis di Rudinì came into close touch with Felice Cavallotti, the leader of the Radicals, who not only represented the advanced Liberals, but had also an anti-monarchical attitude which they have now lost. The greatest bond of sympathy between di Rudinì and Cavallotti was their common antagonism to Crispi which reached almost hatred. It was even reported, and although it may be an exaggeration it is worth citing as a proof of the feeling existing between them, that Marquis di Rudinì, Signor Cavallotti, and their adherents considered the defeat of Adowa a blessing in disguise, since it put a final end to Crispi as a politician. King Humbert entrusted the formation of the Cabinet which succeeded Crispi in March 1896 to General Ricotti, a Senator who had distinguished himself on the battle-fields of the War of Independence and in the Crimea, and who had already been Minister of War in several Conservative Cabinets, including that which, in 1870, decreed the occupation of Rome. He, however, turned over the leadership to Marquis di Rudinì

who retained him as Minister of War, but only for four months, after which he resigned on a Bill for radical reform of the Army. His Cabinet, which included other leading Conservatives and first-class statesmen, such as Signor Luzzatti and Marquis Visconti-Venosta, was greeted by the great majority in Parliament and the country as the return of a Government more adapted to the condition and needs of the nation, and was welcomed by the Extreme Left, who under Signor Cavallotti had fought memorable campaigns against what they called the "dishonesty" of both Signor Giolitti and Signor Crispi, as a Ministry of "honest men." There was even a report that a kind of treaty of alliance had been concluded between Signor Cavallotti and the Conservative Premier, during the days in which they struggled side by side against the great Dictator. The new Cabinet certainly did a good deal to please their supporters of the Extreme Left, beginning with what seemed even excessive retrenchment in Africa, where they promptly concluded peace with Abyssinia down to an almost complete liberation of those condemned to "forced domicile,"—the relegation of habitual offenders, both political and criminal, to certain small islands where they lived under strict police supervision—and ending with the General Election of 1897, conducted in such a manner as to oust the greater number of Crispi's followers, to the advantage of Radical and Socialist candidates. Notwithstanding the ability of Signor Cavallotti in keeping his followers in line with the Cabinet, the harmony of the beginning did not last long, as on one side the claims of the Extremists

became more exacting as concessions were made to their principles, and on the other, the Cabinet drew back for fear of not being able to keep the dangerous elements in the country within bounds. The Radical leader in his speeches in the Chamber often recalled the Government, and more particularly Marquis di Rudinì, to the fulfilment of that programme of liberty and democracy to which they had committed themselves; but events in the country, due chiefly to the activity of the Socialists, who were then in their most volcanic and revolutionary phase, made things go from bad to worse. The rupture had practically taken place at the end of 1897, when the situation reached its most acute stage through two events of exceptional importance—the death of Signor Cavallotti and an agitation throughout the Peninsula, due to the Hispano-American War and the high tariff, which led to the famous riots of May 1898, the gravest which have occurred since Italy was a nation. The disturbances began in January with considerable violence, especially in Sicily and in Apulia, where they were aggravated by local traditional feuds and by the Socialists, who considered the really critical condition of the masses a good opportunity for their propaganda, which for many reasons has never had in the south the same success as in the north. However, while helping to excite the mob, they did not entirely reach their object. The people, while attacking and in some places sacking buildings, and, as a protest against the municipal duties on flour, setting fire to the wooden huts used by the officials of the Octroi, or local custom-house, went about in most places



carrying portraits of the King and Queen, and emitting cries of loyalty to the sovereigns, thinking that this would protect them against repression.

It was not so, however, and the Cabinet, understanding the dangerous character of the movement and the likelihood of its spreading, thought that the best policy was one of vigorous repression, and dispatched troops wherever needed, ordering the adoption of severe measures, which led to conflicts between the peasants and soldiers, with wounded on both sides and several deaths among the former. Soon the men in power realized that their remedy had simply made things worse, as the report of the bloodshed in the south aroused a much more serious agitation in central and north Italy, culminating in Milan, where the movement grew most threatening and assumed an entirely political character. In nearly all the towns of Lombardy, Emilia, and Romagna demonstrations were taking place, which the police and troops tried to dominate in some cases by force of arms. Such a state of things was doubly unpleasant at the special moment when it occurred, as the sovereigns, surrounded by their Cabinet Ministers and the high officials of the State, were just celebrating in Turin, with a beautiful exhibition and eloquent speeches, the Jubilee of the granting of the Constitution by King Charles Albert.

At Pavia a volley wounded several and killed a young student, Muzio Mussi, son of the Mayor of Milan, who was much beloved by his fellow-citizens. The news of this tragedy spread in Milan like wildfire and was the signal for something that resembled a revolt. Although later it

was proved that there was no previous agreement for common action, it appeared at the time as though Republicans, Socialists, Radicals, and even Clericals had combined for a rising, having for its object the proclamation of a Republic. Deputy de Andreis, leader of the Republicans, Deputy Turati, the well-known Socialist agitator, Deputy Mussi, head of the Lombard Radicals and father of the victim at Pavia, Romussi, editor of the great Radical organ the *Secolo*, and finally, Don Albertario, the fiery priest-editor of the *Osservatore Cattolico*, the Clerical organ of Milan, joined all their efforts in a work which, if successful, would have made of Lombardy another Switzerland, with Milan as its Capital. By this time the Government had first reduced the duty on corn by one-third, and then suspended it altogether, and was doing all in its power to prevent further bloodshed, having understood the enormous gravity of the situation which had developed since the death of young Mussi. This paralyzed the local authorities, who for several days remained practically inactive, and gave fresh impetus to the rioters. Thus the worst mob of the "moral Capital" of Italy was allowed to commit all kinds of vandalism, getting so entirely out of hand that when the authorities awoke to the absolute necessity of restoring order, they were confronted with barricades in the streets, made with the tram-cars, and by well-directed missiles of all sorts from roofs and terraces.

It was indispensable to call in the military, martial law was proclaimed, and General Bava-

Beccaris, to whom was entrusted the task of restoring order and punishing the guilty, proved to be just the man for the occasion, displaying the greatest energy and judgment, combined with extraordinary ability in his appeals to the people. Strong reinforcements were centred in Milan, measures of repression took effect, and the rioters, after a vain attempt at resistance, were dispersed, not, however, without the use of even cannon against places where they had barricaded themselves. The total losses amounted to 82 persons killed and several hundred wounded. Meanwhile all the leaders, or the supposed leaders, of the movement were imprisoned and court-martialled, including Turati and de Andreis, who were condemned to twelve years' imprisonment each, Romussi and Chiesi, editor of the Republican *Italia del Popolo*,—both later on deputies,—and Father Albertario, respectively to six, four, and three years' imprisonment. Those condemned numbered thousands, so that the sum total of the penalties amounted to several centuries. These were drastic measures, but the Italian nature, even when going to excess one way or the other, is always open to moderate the consequences of what has been decreed on the impulse of the moment, and, in fact, within the year nearly three thousand were amnestied and released, while later on Turati and de Andreis resumed their seat in Parliament, and Romussi, Chiesi, and several others became members. The lesson of Milan was indispensable to show the extreme parties and their leaders that they could not impose their will by violence, and

it may be said that from that year dates the gradual change of Socialists, Radicals, and even Republicans towards a propaganda keeping more within the bounds of legality, aiming at obtaining social, labour, and economic reforms without attempting to upset the existing order of things.

The Cabinet of Marquis di Rudinì fell on June 18, 1898, amid almost general indignation, and this was practically the end of his career, as, although he lived ten years longer, his political influence never recovered from this blow.

It is not generally known that Marquis di Rudinì was the only Premier who entered into direct negotiations with the Vatican for a *modus vivendi* between Church and State. At the end of the summer of 1896 he sent his private secretary with written instructions to discuss with the papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, a Sicilian like himself, taking advantage of the occasion of the arrangements which were to be made for the religious marriage of the Crown Prince with the Princess of Montenegro. The negotiations were, however, a complete failure, as the Cardinal, in the three conversations he had with the envoy of Marquis di Rudinì, was irremovable both with regard to any concession which might lead to a kind of understanding between Vatican and Quirinal, and also with regard to any religious ceremony for the marriage of the future King which might seem an acknowledgment of him on the part of the Holy See.

General Pelloux, a distinguished officer who

took part in the campaigns of 1859 and 1860, won the medal for military valour at the battle of Custoza in 1866, and commanded the attack on Rome, entering through the famous breach of Porta Pia on September 20, 1870. He would perhaps have never occupied a place in the political history of United Italy had he not become Premier when, after the famous Milan riots of 1898, King Humbert chose him, thinking it advisable to have some one at the head of the Government who, while satisfying public opinion by his Liberal antecedents, could at the same time be trusted to use the necessary firmness in repressing any revolutionary movement. General Pelloux, as Deputy, belonged to the Left and was Minister of War three times, distinguishing himself by his activity in carrying out important reforms in the Army, and by a decided aversion to colonial enterprises, which made him popular with that section of the Chamber, including a part of the Liberals and the Extreme Left, which was opposed to African expansion. His advent to power was greeted as a triumph of the Liberals, which he justified by suppressing the state of siege enforced by the former Rudinì Cabinet in several parts of the south. However, not feeling sure of himself, and not having a parliamentary party of his own on which to rely, he willingly accepted the support of Baron Sonnino, then leader of the Majority, and representative of Conservative ideas, who became the inspirer of the Cabinet to such an extent as to be the real Premier, without having the responsibility of office. This situation led to

the most violent obstructionist campaign which has ever occurred since the granting of the Constitution, and ended with the triumph of the Minority.

The Pelloux Cabinet, as well as that of Rudinì, lacked perception of what was necessary to remedy the state of unrest and dissatisfaction in the country. Instead of having recourse to long-desired social, economic, and fiscal reforms, together with measures to prevent the wasting of public funds and to stamp out corruption in the Government services, they initiated a crusade against what they called the subversive parties, ignoring the fact that the best way of rendering these parties innocuous is to remove the causes of discontent which give them an ascendancy over the people. The Rudinì Cabinet started, and that of Pelloux completed, a series of police measures, which, although they had the avowed object of checking the enemies of existing institutions, were in reality a violation of the Constitution, restricting, not only to the detriment of the subversive parties, but of all citizens, the liberty of meeting, of association, of the Press, and of workmen's combination. The Extreme Left,—numbering altogether, between Socialists, Republicans, and Radicals, sixty-five deputies out of the 508 who compose the Chamber,—in order to oppose such a retrogressive and offensive policy, after the Liberals had done all in their power to have the measures withdrawn, decided to have recourse, for the first time in Italy, to obstruction, making use, however, of only those legal methods which the rules of the House grant to the Minority.

For about a month parliamentary business was at a complete standstill. Every obstructionist had ready ten different amendments to each Bill brought forward by the Government, and asked for each clause the roll-call—the lengthiest of the three modes of voting used in the Italian Chamber—which would have meant several years for each measure. The Ministry and their supporters, seeing the impossibility of combating this system, proposed to modify the rules of the House in such a way as to remove from the Minority all means of resisting the will of the Majority. Of course, obstruction, in which the Liberals refused to join, was again used to defeat this proposition. To make bad worse, General Pelloux prorogued the Chamber for a week, and at once published a royal decree which gave twenty-eight days to Parliament to discuss and approve the above-mentioned measures, after which, on July 20, they would be applied with or without parliamentary ratification. Such an enormity is without parallel in Italian constitutional history, and at the opening of the Chamber not only the Opposition, but the leading men of the Majority, denounced it as a breach of the Constitution, although the latter thought it their duty to continue to support the Government, and even General Pelloux was induced to call it “not legal.” Of course obstruction continued more violently than ever, culminating in the exciting sitting of June 30, 1899, when passions rose to such a height that, instead of discussion, nothing was heard in the vast hall of Montecitorio but a continuous exchange of insults between Ministerialists and the Opposi-

tion. The Speaker, partly through weakness, partly encouraged by the supporters of the Government, at a certain point refused to allow a roll-call legally asked for by the Extreme Left, ordering instead that the voting urns should be placed, and the vote on some secondary laws, already discussed, should be proceeded with. This was the signal for a general fight. The Conservatives left their benches for the vote, the Liberals and the Extreme parties did the same to prevent it, and during the scuffle which followed, in which almost every member joined, the sitting was suspended.

Half an hour later, on the reassembling of the Chamber, as the Speaker insisted on his course of action, a group of the Extreme Left, nearly all Socialists, amidst the wildest excitement, threw themselves upon the urns, and carried them off.

According to the Italian Constitution the Courts cannot interfere in what happens inside the Parliament buildings without a declaration from the Speaker, who is alone competent to judge whether what is an offence before the law outside the Chamber, is to be, under certain circumstances, considered as such inside. The Cabinet that evening asked the Speaker his intentions, and he declared that he would resign, but certainly would not exercise his right of appeal to the law. By that time General Pelloux, partly owing to the influence of Baron Sonnino, partly guided by his military spirit, which made him think that he could deal with Parliament as with a regiment, had de-



cided for extreme measures. He therefore prorogued the Chamber, which involved the fall of the Speaker and the suspension of parliamentary immunities and privileges. The Government then claimed that during the prorogation of the Chamber the trial should take place of four Socialist deputies, accused of the crime provided for by an article of the Penal Code, which runs as follows: "A punishment of not less than twelve years' imprisonment is applicable to anyone who by any act tries (1) to prevent even temporarily the King or Regent from exercising his sovereignty in whole or in part; (2) to prevent the Senate or Chamber from exercising their functions; (3) to change by violence the Constitution of the State, the Form of Government or the order of succession to the Throne." The enormity of applying this law to the case in point was obvious, and the agitation it caused in the country was most serious. The accused, when interrogated, admitted the fact, simply declaring that they had thus performed their duty as citizens and deputies. They made no objection to the procedure with regard to their prerogatives as Members of Parliament, adding that their act of rebellion being justified by the violence and illegality of the party in power, they desired to be judged as ordinary citizens. Whatever the result of the trial it would certainly not have been to the advantage of the Cabinet, as, if the accused had been acquitted, it would have been called a defeat for the Government, if condemned there would have been started in Parliament and in the country a wave of feeling in favour of the

prisoners which would not have been conducive to the much-needed pacification of the people.

During the suspension of parliamentary work this was realized even by General Pelloux, so that on the eve of the trial the Government published a royal decree for the reopening of Parliament, at the same time instructing the Crown prosecutor to ask for the suspension of the case and the immediate release of the imprisoned deputies.

General Pelloux was a good man but unadapted to be the head of a Government. In December 1899, after less than a year and a half since all those condemned by the courts martial were imprisoned, he advised the King to grant a general amnesty. Shortly after, on reopening the Chamber, irritated by the fact that the Court of Cassation of Rome had declared the royal decree, ordering the application of police measures not ratified by Parliament to be illegal, and haunted by the desire to master obstructionism, he revised the standing orders of the Chamber, deciding that they should be provisionally enforced without discussion by the deputies. Of course the effect was just the contrary to that which he intended, and obstructionism became more rampant than ever. The excitement rose to a degree which is only possible in a southern country, the Chamber was a constant pandemonium, hand-to-hand fights were not infrequent, books and other objects were used by the deputies as missiles, and Signor Bertesi, originally a baker, representing a Socialist constituency, having nothing else handy, one day tore off his cuffs and threw them at the Cabinet Ministers.

In one of these general engagements Baron Sonnino fell and was trampled upon, while the Republican Signor Pantano, later Minister of Agriculture under Sonnino, standing on the elevated benches of the Extreme Left, was, through his stentorian voice, the chief instrument of obstruction by constantly beginning a speech, which was as constantly interrupted, and giving thus occasion to Signor Ferri, then leader of the Socialists, to scream with piercing tones the phrase which became famous as a kind of rallying cry: "Pantano shall speak!" The situation was so acute that in the memorable sitting of April 3, 1900, Signor Zanardelli, accompanied by all the Left and the Extreme Left, abandoned the hall in sign of protest, intending to morally invalidate the decision of the deputies who remained, who, however, taking advantage of their overwhelming majority, passed the revised standing orders which had been the cause of such grave troubles. General Pelloux prorogued the Chamber, still hoping that he would end by taming the rebellious spirits of the Opposition, but on the reopening of the Chamber on May 15, the situation was even worse, as any attempt to apply the revised standing orders was met by violence and by the singing of the March of Garibaldi by Radicals and Republicans, and the Hymn of the Workers by the Socialists. At this point only two courses were possible—a *coup d'état*, or an appeal to the country. The second was adopted, the Chamber was dissolved, and the general elections of June 3, while still giving a majority to the Cabinet, represented a moral

victory for the Opposition, as the Extreme Left was returned increased from sixty to ninety-eight members, so that General Pelloux resigned two weeks later, thus putting an end to the most stormy period of Italian parliamentary life, and practically to his political career, as, although a Senator, he afterwards exercised very little influence. Only once again did he make his voice strongly heard, when Ernesto Nathan being Mayor, delivered a speech on the anniversary of the taking of Rome by the Italians, which some considered offensive to the Pontiff. Pelloux, who commanded the battery which made the breach in the walls of the Eternal City on the famous 20th of September, protested against the action of such an important public official as the Mayor of the Capital, declaring it a violation of the Law of Guarantees by which the Italian Government pledged itself to respect and exact respect for the independence of the Pontiff, sacred and inviolable as that of the King.

Giuseppe Saracco was one of those Piedmontese statesmen of the fibre of Lanza and Sella, although, partly perhaps on account of the changed times in which he lived, he did not reach the eminence of his prototypes. Upright in character, of Spartan simplicity, and of an honesty absolutely beyond question, it is recalled that when Premier he did not touch the secret funds at his disposal, which he passed in their entirety to his successor, and although more than octogenarian, used to walk from his house to his office, disdaining the closed carriage which is the prerogative of any mediocrity

who becomes a Minister. Although a lawyer by profession he dedicated his intelligence to financial and economic studies, becoming an expert on these subjects, so that Sella chose him as his secretary when he was Minister of Finance. In the Chamber he belonged to that Conservative party which had Cavour as leader, although he was proud of having stood against him at times, and never hesitated to oppose the Conservatives whenever he thought it necessary, especially on financial questions. Extremely rigid in the administration of the public money, he went sometimes to excess, and being a member of the Crispi Cabinet from 1893 to 1896, he shared with Baron Sonnino the blame for having induced the Government to deny the funds asked by General Baratieri for the campaign against Abyssinia, thus being one of the causes of the disaster of Adowa. There is no doubt, however, that to men such as Saracco, Sella, and Sonnino, who have consistently preached the necessity for Italy to strengthen her budget, to restrict her expenses, and to augment her revenue, the young kingdom owes it that she has at last, through the genius of other financiers like Luzzatti and Majorana, reached her present condition of prosperity. Saracco, in a speech he delivered during the period of Italy's financial depression, insisted on the refrain which echoed throughout the Peninsula, "We are poor"; and though this admonition was wholesome and even necessary for the Italians, such a frank admission gave a false impression to the outside world as to the real resources of the country, perpetuating abroad

the legend of an Italy poorer than she really was.

In Latin countries it is unusual for men even relatively young to be entrusted with very responsible positions, and Saracco did not reach the Premiership until he was over eighty. His tenure of office was very short, but it was marked by one of the saddest events in the history of United Italy, the murder of King Humbert at Monza. Saracco, who had become Premier at the worst moment of the obstructionism, succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity in the Chamber and restoring to the work of legislation that dignity which it had lost. After the crime of the anarchist Bresci, he had the strength and balance of mind to resist the forces of reaction so that he did not overpass legality in any of his measures, supported by and in his turn supporting the young King in a policy of enlightened magnanimity and open-minded Liberalism. He contributed to the compilation of the first speech which Victor Emmanuel addressed to Parliament when taking the oath, which rang throughout the country like a clarion call to new life.

## CHAPTER VI

### POLITICAL LIFE

Giuseppe Zanardelli, patriot and orator—The most Liberal Cabinet—Attempt to introduce divorce—Revival of Irredentism—Prevention of Czar's visit—Baron Sidney Sonnino—His scholarly and literary gifts—Minister of Finance in Crispi Cabinet—Premier in 1906—Again in 1909—Two Cabinets of one hundred days—Luigi Luzzatti—His social and financial programme—Negotiator of commercial treaties—Five times Minister of the Treasury—His conversion of the Consols—Premier in 1910—Giovanni Giolitti—Bureaucratic career—Minister of the Treasury—Premier first time in 1892—Bank scandals—His democratic Cabinets—Concessions to the working classes—Liberty to strike—Strike in Milan—The town of the proletariat—Extremists defeated in general elections—Fortis Premier as Giolitti's lieutenant—Giolitti's omnipotence—The "Old Fox" tames the Socialists—Monopoly of Life Insurance and Universal Suffrage

**T**ALL and thin, as are few Italians, with enormously long arms which he waved like a windmill, Giuseppe Zanardelli was one of the most powerful orators of United Italy, being known as the "artist of thought and word." To his pre-eminence in Law and Jurisprudence he added the glamour of a patriotic past, as in 1848, when only nineteen, the revolution against Austria having broken out, he left the University of Pavia

and volunteered, distinguishing himself in several encounters, but after the defeat of Custoza he emigrated to Tuscany, where with other prominent patriots he collaborated in the newspaper *La Costituente*. Later he returned to his native Brescia, and his principles not allowing him to practise law under Austrian rule, which he considered the negation of justice, he taught jurisprudence privately, while he continued to work for the triumph of the Italian cause. Whenever a public appointment was offered to him, General Susan, then Commander of the town, imposed the condition that the young lawyer should make a eulogy of the Austrian dominion, which he indignantly refused to do, and this resulted in his being deprived of the permission to teach even privately. Needless to say, the movement leading to the war of 1859, which liberated Lombardy, found him among its ardent champions, and the next year he was sent to Naples to prepare the way for Garibaldi, who had always a great affection for him. As Deputy he belonged throughout his career to the most advanced wing of the Liberals, of which, during the last years of his life, he was the leader, and this undoubtedly delayed his becoming Premier. After the advent of the Left, in 1876, he held several portfolios, especially that of Justice, and he was the compiler of the present Italian Penal Code, considered one of the most perfect in existence.

Whether true or only a legend, many believed that King Humbert did not like Signor Zanardelli after Passanante's attempt on his life, and what



occurred after the fall of the first Giolitti Cabinet, in December 1893, tended to confirm that belief. The parliamentary situation indicated Zanardelli as successor, and in fact he was asked by King Humbert to form the new administration. He produced with great ardour a programme which would have meant the introduction of radical reforms presented and carried out by young Ministers capable of infusing new life into all branches of the administration, most of whom had not yet held office, including General Baratieri, whose name recalls the defeat of Adowa, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, which sounded like a challenge to Austria, since he was a native of Trent and an Irredentist. When he presented the list to the King, it is said that the latter exclaimed : " These, I suppose, are the Under Secretaries of State ! " Signor Zanardelli took the hint and relinquished the attempt to form a Ministry, the three military men he had chosen having also sent in their resignations. It was only under the new King that Signor Zanardelli reached the Premiership, indeed, he formed the first Cabinet under Victor Emmanuel III, in which, however, Signor Giolitti, as Minister of the Interior, gained that preponderance which paved the way for him not only to the succession, but to that extraordinarily powerful position which has made him ever since the master of political life in Italy. Zanardelli's Cabinet was one of the most Liberal Italy ever had, and ushered in the taming of the Socialists, whose leaders began from that time to pass from the revolutionary anti-monarchical stage to one

devoted to labour and democratic reforms leading them towards the further phase of holding office under a monarchy. A new attitude taken by Zanardelli as Premier was that of acting as arbitrator in a dispute between labourers and employers in the harbour of Genoa, which threatened the commercial life of the country. One of the reforms he warmly advocated was that of introducing in the Italian legislation the principle of divorce urged by Bella since 1793, but which caused great clamour among the Opposition, rousing against the Premier the hostility not only of the Conservative and Clerical parties, but also that of Queen Margherita, who, as a fervent Catholic, disapproved any alteration of the marriage laws, as against the rule of the Roman Church. All the parish priests of Italy formed committees to oppose the Bill, starting a movement against the Cabinet, and more particularly against the deputies who ventured to vote such a reform, threatening them with the loss of their constituencies, and sent to Parliament the petitions of three million Catholics protesting against any attempt on the indissolubility of marriage. The question assumed such gravity that the conflicting views on the subject were reflected in the Cabinet itself, and Signor Giusso, a member of the Ministry, resigned, it being reported that the Queen-Mother had influenced his decision.

In foreign policy his Government was marked by two facts: a strong revival of Irredentism, which reached the most acute period when the

Italian manœuvres took place at the Austrian frontier, and had as object to repel and attack an invasion from the east, which could only refer to Austria, and was, in fact, considered as the rehearsal of a possible war with their ally. When the King went to the Friuli region to review the troops, the enthusiasm was delirious, he was greeted not only by his own subjects, but also by thousands of Italians ruled by Austria, who for the occasion crossed the border, and whose women covered with flowers the Sovereign of their mother-country. Austria, in reply, concentrated on the Italian confines 30,000 men, and from that time date the armaments of Italy and the construction of fortifications on the eastern frontier, notwithstanding the Alliance, while before all these measures were adopted on the west.

Another event of international importance during Signor Zanardelli's Cabinet was the visit of the Czar of Russia, which at the last moment failed to take place. It was an unfortunate incident for Italy and her Sovereign. Since his advent to the throne Victor Emmanuel III had inaugurated a policy of cordial *rapprochement* with Russia, helped in this by the russophile feeling of the Queen and her family. One of his first visits as Sovereign was to St. Petersburg, marked by his avoidance of the shortest route, which would have taken him through Austrian territory. The Czar's return visit was officially announced, the programme arranged, even Russian officials, especially detectives, were sent to Rome to assist the Italian police in protecting the life of the powerful monarch.

Meanwhile, the Italian Socialists had started an agitation with the object of not allowing the representative of the autocratic system, which even then was making many victims among Russian freethinkers and those aiming at a more liberal form of government, to be received in the Italian Capital without protest. They decided that all Socialists along the route of the royal procession should hiss the Czar. This announcement caused considerable uneasiness in official quarters at St. Petersburg, so that M. Nélidoff, then Russian Ambassador to the Quirinal, was instructed to ask the Italian Government whether they could guarantee that Nicholas II would be properly received. Unfortunately, Signor Zanardelli was at that time without a Minister of Foreign Affairs, as, since the illness of Signor Prinetti had obliged him to resign, Admiral Morin, Minister of the Navy, had assumed the Foreign Office *ad interim*. Both he and the Premier assured the Ambassador that the Emperor of Russia would receive a most cordial reception, and everything seemed arranged, when, a few days later, instead of the news that the Czar had started, the report reached Rome that the visit had been postponed. It seems that M. Nélidoff did not dare to take upon himself the responsibility of advising the Czar to come under the circumstances, instigated to this by the opponents of the then Cabinet, who described Signor Zanardelli as too weak physically and politically (on account of his connexion with the Extreme parties) to guarantee that no untoward incident would take place. The King was deeply irritated at the occurrence, especi-

ally as he had solemnly said that from the moment of the Czar's arrival in Rome he would have been constantly at his side until his departure. The Russian Government was notified that M. Nélidoff was no more *persona grata* to the Quirinal, and St. Petersburg, adopting the Vatican policy of *promovetur et amovetur*, transferred him to Paris, which is the Blue Ribbon of Muscovite diplomacy; but he left Rome without obtaining an audience from Victor Emmanuel III even to present his letters of recall, and the King also refused to see him later when he returned to Rome as a private individual, fresh from presiding at the second Hague Conference.

Signor Zanardelli, whose health had been for some time precarious, could not stand against this severe blow, and shortly afterwards resigned the Premiership, and less than two months later, on December 29, 1903, he died at Maderno, his villa on the Lake of Garda.

Although not fortunate as Prime Minister, Baron Sidney Sonnino is undoubtedly one of the most prominent statesmen of Italy, cultured and permeated with all the doctrines which one would think necessary to make the ideal head of a Government. Born in 1849, of a Tuscan family originally Jewish, he is a Protestant, and from his English mother he inherited not only the education but something of the temperament and exterior of the more northern races, which, while it makes him a delightful conversationalist in private life, has robbed his public speeches of that warmth and fluency which renders the oratory of a southern

assembly so effective. While he was unequalled as Minister in a technical department, even his warmest supporters have to acknowledge that so far he has not been successful as Prime Minister, a position which in Latin countries even more than elsewhere owes much to personal influence and the gift of eloquence. Baron Sonnino, although he started in life as a diplomatist, has always been above all a scholar and lover of politics. When still young he realized what were and still are the gravest problems for United Italy, such as the organization of her finances, the condition of the South, and the extraordinary phenomenon of emigration. He wrote *The Peasants in Sicily*, which is as well known as the inquiry into the agrarian conditions of Southern Italy which he made with Baron Leopoldo Franchetti, brother of the musical composer. They founded together, in 1878, the *Rassegna*, which was for several years one of the leading Conservative organs. Even before that time he had studied several subjects which only became burning questions for other politicians many years later, such as the work of women and children, particularly in the mines, and that typical system of farm-tenure called "Mezzadria," a kind of partnership between the proprietor and the cultivator which has come down from the days of Ancient Rome and extends over almost the whole of Central Italy. After entering the Chamber in 1888, he devoted himself more particularly to the subject of Finance, although he did not neglect the other problems which pre-occupied his country, chiefly colonial questions; in

1889 he visited the Erythrea Colony, and in 1912 Tripoli.

Baron Sonnino soon became the leader of that group in the Chamber which was known as the "Left Centre," and distinguished himself by his constant opposition to the financial system of Signor Magliani, with northern tenacity and accuracy counterpoising to the roseate representations of that Minister his dry inexorable facts, proving conclusively the abyss of debt and insolvency with which the country was threatened. Crispi, in his Cabinet in 1893, made him Minister of Finance, with the temporary charge of the Treasury Department, where he proved himself the most energetic and practical financier that Italy had had since the great Sella.

Baron Sonnino fell with the second and last Crispi Cabinet, and although he did much to put Italian Finance on an honest footing, he could not carry out all his programme, as the activity of the Cabinet was absorbed by the grave situation in Africa, which led to the disaster of Adowa, for which he was considered partly responsible by some politicians, in consequence of his efforts to prevent excessive expenditure. From his bench as Deputy he continued to uphold his inflexible policy of economy and to fight the programme of his successor, Signor Luzzatti, another of Italy's most distinguished financiers, whom, however, Baron Sonnino considered too visionary. The disastrous attitude taken by Baron Sonnino during the Pelloux Cabinet retarded his advent as Premier until the beginning of 1906. He had learned from experi-

ence that an administration composed only of his own followers would not be possible, indeed, he had to prove that he was no more the man of seven years before, when, rightly or wrongly, he was believed to have inspired the most reactionary and anti-constitutional measures ever attempted in Italy. He fulfilled his task beyond all expectation, forming a Cabinet of first-class statesmen, such as had been unknown since the days of Cavour, and including the most advanced elements, represented by Signor Sacchi, leader of one of the Radical groups, and Signor Pantano, who gave the unprecedented example of a Republican passing without transition to hold office in a Monarchical Ministry headed by a Conservative Premier. The programme which he expounded before the Chamber was worthy of himself and of the prominent men whom he had chosen as colleagues. It comprised what has been one of the dreams of his whole political life, the moral and economic resurrection of the South. His programme went so far as to propose a reduction of 30 per cent. on the land tax for the small proprietors, as he realized that the reduced income to the exchequer would be more than made up through the more prosperous condition of the lower and more numerous classes. This, which formed the backbone of his scheme, was completed by a series of measures, such as the construction of local railways and other means of communication in order to put districts which so far had been practically isolated from the world in touch with the great markets; considerable assistance to the small municipalities in their campaign against illiteracy;





BARON SONNINO



strengthening the agrarian banks in order to allow them to help worthy and struggling agriculturists; and, finally, the suppression, for all those who have an income below a certain amount, of the Family Tax, a form of income-tax.

To complete this rosy prospect, Signor Luzzatti, the Minister of the Treasury, in his financial statement announced a surplus of over L. 2,000,000, at the same time giving it to be understood that this was but a step towards the much-desired conversion of the Consols, by which reduction of interest the exchequer would gain several more millions yearly. All this, added to an unquestioned integrity and a scrupulous care in the handling of public money, was not enough to keep Baron Sonnino in power. His negative qualities as head of a Government were emphasized by those very gifts which in a man of another temperament would have made him exceptionally strong. He pushed his political honesty to such lengths as to deprive himself of supports which would have enabled him to carry out his programme, and thus render to his country inestimable services, and his too frank expression of contempt for those whose ideals were less high than his own alienated from him many who went to swell the ranks of the Opposition, so that little more than three months after the formation of his Cabinet he was obliged to resign. The highest praise that can be given to him, and at the same time to his successor, Signor Giolitti, is that the new Cabinet practically adopted most of the measures prepared by their predecessors, showing that it was not a question of programme that caused

the change of Ministry, but of men, or, to be more exact, the substance remained, only the form was changed. Baron Sonnino returned with his usual persistence to the Opposition, and his attacks on the Ministry were especially severe and to a certain extent successful on the scheme of the maritime conventions, the rather large subsidies granted by Government for the maintenance of certain lines of navigation which could not exist if they had no other source of revenue but passengers and freight. When Giolitti fell, in December 1909, he himself suggested to the Crown that Baron Sonnino, who had led the campaign against his Cabinet, was clearly indicated as his successor. To his friends Signor Giolitti predicted that his opponent on this occasion also would not remain in power more than a hundred days, and the prophecy was fulfilled to the letter, as at the expiration of this limit, Baron Sonnino, although this time he had chosen his colleagues not among the extreme parties, was abandoned by the majority still faithful to his great rival, and fell, amidst the regret of his friends and of those who admire his many exceptional qualities of culture and statesmanship, which unfortunately are not accompanied by that magnetic power that makes a successful leader of men.

Among the great financiers whom Italy has had, from the austere Sella down to our days, perhaps the greatest is Luigi Luzzatti, one of the most encyclopædic men of the young kingdom. He is a Jew, born in Venice in 1841; he studied at the University of Padua, which for so many centuries

held aloft the lamp of light and learning to Europe. An anecdote of his early life will illustrate what has been said elsewhere as to the relations between Austria and the citizens of the Italian regions she then occupied. Young Luzzatti had just taken his degree in Law when he was obliged to leave Venice, being prosecuted by the Austrian Government for treason, and the treason consisted in having organized Mutual Aid Societies among workmen. He went to Milan, and at twenty-two years of age published his first book on popular banks, which already outlined the complex economic programme which has formed the aim of his life; he founded the first Co-operative Society of Consumers in Italy, thus beginning his great work for the moral and material elevation of the working classes. Marco Minghetti inspired and guided his early political career, and when Venetia was freed from Austrian rule he became Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Padua, where he had been student, and was elected Deputy four times; but his elections had to be annulled, as he had not yet reached the prescribed age of thirty. Minghetti, Minister of Agriculture in 1869, took him as Secretary General, a position not then held by a Deputy. In that year he was appointed negotiator of the treaties of commerce and the monetary conventions of Italy, a position which he has always retained. He has now been a Deputy for over forty years, and it is difficult to say whether he is more celebrated for his eloquence, his culture, or his technical knowledge. In 1891 he was Minister of the Treasury in the Rudinì

Cabinet, a position he held four times more, gaining a great reputation as the restorer of the Italian finances, a work in which he had as worthy co-operator Baron Sonnino. Signor Luzzatti laid down the law that no more debts should be made by the State. In 1903, as Minister of the Treasury in the Giolitti Cabinet, he began the conversion of part of the State Consols from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , and prepared the much more important conversion of the 5 per cent. Consols, ensuring for this the assistance of the financial market of France, the country which had always looked upon Luzzatti as one of its most devoted friends. Taking advantage of this favourable position, he strove, while Minister in the Rudinì Cabinet of 1898, to re-establish commercial relations with France which had been broken since 1888. Di Rudinì fell shortly after, but King Humbert and the new Premier, General Pelloux, begged Luzzatti to continue the negotiations with France, although he was no longer Minister. He consented, went to Paris, and brought them to a happy conclusion in November 1898. This was one of the most successful moments of his life, both in France and Italy there was an explosion of joy at the cessation of a war equally detrimental to both countries. The French Government gave him its highest decoration, and he was appointed *Membre de l'Institut*, in succession to Gladstone, on whom he delivered a magniloquent eulogy. Again Minister in the Giolitti Cabinet in 1904, he renewed all the commercial treaties of Italy, and was on the point of bringing about the conversion of the State Consols from

5 per cent. to  $3\frac{3}{4}$  when the Russo-Japanese War prevented it. He resumed this scheme in 1906 when Minister of the Treasury under Sonnino, but was again prevented from realizing his cherished project by the fall of the Cabinet. In this case also the following Premier, Signor Giolitti, and the new Minister of the Treasury, Signor Majorana, asked him to bring his great work to completion. In few instances has the Italian Chamber paid such a tribute of admiration to one of its members as to him who had brought about one of the most successful and advantageous financial operations since the constitution of the new kingdom. He was for the last time Minister of the Treasury in the one hundred days' Cabinet of Baron Sonnino, in December 1909; and when, three months later, Sonnino fell, Luzzatti, to the great indignation of his colleagues and their followers, accepted the Premiership, governing the country for about a year from April 1, 1910, by means of Giolitti's majority. He was hampered in his work by the strange situation of being supported by a majority which was not his, and when the most glorious period of his Premiership was opening, the festivities for the Jubilee of United Italy, the great Dictator Giolitti, in March 1911, raised his finger and Signor Luzzatti was forced to resign, on bringing in a Bill for an extension of the franchise, which included the compulsory exercise of the vote.

Perhaps the most important of the men who have been in power in Italy, since the disappearance of those who shared in the struggle for

independence, is Giovanni Giolitti, who was born in 1842, at Mondovì in Piedmont. His father was a clerk in the Law Courts, and belonged to that small bourgeoisie which in Italy has been constantly in contact with the people, and since the parliamentary régime was granted by King Charles Albert, no Premier has understood so well the feelings, the prejudices, and the aspirations of the lower classes. He was brought up among the Piedmontese mountain population which has rooted traditions of strength, courage, and open-mindedness, coupled with rectitude of character and extraordinary capacity for work. There he acquired that physical and mental energy which gave to his erect figure, over six feet in height, the aspect of a Colossus, and to his arguments an irresistible power. His love for study enabled him to accomplish in three the usual five years of the university course, taking his degree in Law and initiating his career as "lawyer of the poor." Soon, however, his ability brought him to the Judges' Bench, and at twenty-four he was appointed Crown Counsel, an incredibly youthful age for such an important position. Shortly after he was called to the Ministry of Finance, becoming in a few years a great authority on the manipulation of the budgets of the State. At a little over forty he was elected almost unanimously Member of Parliament for Dronero in his native Piedmont, and for thirty years no competitor of any political party has dared to stand against him in his constituency. In 1888 Signor Crispi made him Minister of the Treasury, but the contrasting temperaments of the two dis-





GIOVANNI GIOLITTI



tinguished politicians made it difficult for them to work together for any length of time. Giolitti is always dignified and self-possessed, never losing his temper under any circumstances, and dominating his more exuberant southern opponents with his faint ironic smile and impassive calm. His first financial statement inexorably exposed the bad condition in which the Italian finances then were, and insisted on the absolute necessity for restricting expenditure. Crispi agreed theoretically, but as he had no idea of the value of money, making it quite a secondary consideration in all his enterprises, in practice he increased the estimates, in consequence of which Giolitti resigned, which brought about the fall of the Cabinet. From then onwards Giolitti's position as one of the leading politicians of Italy was assured, and in May 1892 he became Premier for the first time, and had in the following year the unevitable task of dealing with the darkest page in the history of United Italy, that of the Bank Scandals, called the "Italian Panama," as it was contemporaneous with the Panama affair in France. For some time there had been hints of a grave situation in those banks which, having the right to emit notes, are under the direct control of the State.

Comm. Cuciniello, Director of the Rome branch of the Bank of Naples, who had the reputation of the most rigid and scrupulous honesty, suddenly fled after having withdrawn L. 100,000 from the bank. This decided the authorities to act, and the next day Comm. Tanlongo, Director of the Banca Romana, who had just been proposed by Giolitti to the King as Senator, and was certainly one of

the most powerful men in Rome, was arrested, together with his chief cashier. Four days later, Comm. Cuciniello was arrested in Rome disguised as a priest, but of the missing L. 100,000 only a few hundred were found. Numerous others were arrested, and all defended themselves by accusing journalists, deputies, ministers, premiers of having received money from the banks. The accusations were most specific against Deputy de Zerbi, a brilliant journalist, a brave soldier, and a philanthropist, who had allowed no national misfortune to pass without helping to alleviate it. The Chamber authorized his arrest, but he suddenly died before it could be executed. From all the revelations it appeared that Comm. Tanlongo had issued L. 2,500,000 duplicate bank-notes with which the lamentable dishonesties had been accomplished. A parliamentary commission of inquiry was appointed, which included the Republican Giovanni Bovio and Nunzio Nasi, who himself later was tried for peculation and misuse of public funds, but the latter refused to serve. When the report of this commission was presented to the Chamber on November 23, the excitement which it produced and the gravity of the charges against many politicians caused Giolitti and his Cabinet to resign, as the Premier himself was accused of having deceived the Chamber and the country as to the true state of the banks, and having subtracted some of the documents sequestered by the police in order that they should not reach the judges. Comm. Cuciniello was condemned to ten years' prison, while Comm. Tanlongo and the other

accused were acquitted by the jury for lack of evidence.

This humiliating experience had a salutary effect, acting as a tonic on the sensitive organism of the young country, and from that period dates the banking and financial reawakening which in later years has rendered the Italian State budget one of the most satisfactory in Europe. Although it may seem a paradox, there is no doubt that the bank scandals and the disaster of Adowa have done more good than harm, as they revealed in a brutal but efficacious manner the plague spots in the body of the new kingdom, making it possible to all the vital and healthy forces of the country to cauterize the wound and start a fresh life.

It took eight years for Giolitti to gradually regain the ground he had lost ; and when, in 1901, he returned to power, not as Premier, but as Minister of the Interior in Signor Zanardelli's Cabinet, he was stronger than ever, initiating the most democratic system of government that Italy has ever had, and he has been ever since the politician with the greatest following since Cavour, although he has not the qualities which made the creator of United Italy a giant both in politics and diplomacy.

His chief characteristics have been an exceptionally well-balanced mind, averse to all kinds of exaggeration and display ; a plain, practical, prosaic eloquence, and a thorough knowledge of the administration in all its branches, which makes him the incarnation of the "old Parliamentary Hand," added to an insight into human nature

which gave into his power, through the general elections which took place during his Premierships, a very large number of deputies, including even some of the Opposition, who would have lost their constituencies without the somewhat dubious support accorded to them by the Government. His critics say that while his personal honesty has been beyond question, he has had no scruples in the choice of means when aiming at a given political object. Among his greatest achievements since his return to power after the long seclusion caused by the bank scandals, has been the series of concessions made in favour of the working classes, which has brought them a great increase of prosperity, together with the cessation of that friction between workmen and employers which had reached an acute stage in the last years of the reign of King Humbert. Until that time strikes, although no article of the Italian code expressly forbade them, had been practically considered crimes by the authorities, and all means at the disposal of the Government were employed to persecute and punish the strikers and to support the employers, going so far as to lend the assistance of soldiers, not only to protect the factories, but to replace those who refused to work, so that the capitalist should suffer no loss. The result was that few strikes could be successful, and, owing to this attitude of the Government, the differences between employers and employed, while having originally an economic cause, always ended by assuming a political character, as all the subversive elements took advantage of the situation

and joined the strikers in fighting the representatives of Law and Order. Signor Giolitti proclaimed complete liberty of strike, coupled, however, with complete liberty of work, limiting the interference of the public forces to protecting those willing to work from the tyranny of the strikers, and preventing the latter from injuring life or property.

As often happens when something long denied is unexpectedly granted, this sudden concession of the Premier's caused an epidemic of strikes, which, while they gained for the workmen many advantages claimed for years, taught them also to be more cautious in using this double-edged weapon, as there were cases when, having public opinion against them, they wasted their funds and failed in the object for which they struggled. One of the most important of these movements was the general strike which in 1904 had its origin and culmination in Milan, where it lasted from the 16th to the 22nd of September, and was called the new "Five Days," alluding to the famous "Five Days" of March 1848. It took an entirely political character, and was announced as a protest against the abuse of the employment of arms by the Government, and as a proclamation of the inviolability of life, because in some conflicts between proprietors and workmen in Sicily and Sardinia, police and carabinieri having intervened to re-establish order, were forced to fire, with the result that three peasants were killed and several wounded. The subversive parties took advantage of the agitation, and as the

King was expecting the birth of a child, they waited two weeks and proclaimed a general strike on the morning of September 16, directly the news of the birth of the Crown Prince was known. In the north the strike was practically complete: no Press, no light, no water, no bread. With regard to bread it was worse than non-existent, as the co-operative bakeries made bread for the workmen and prevented the other shops from selling any to the hated bourgeoisie. The anarchists, who aimed at becoming the leaders of the movement, in the only publication permitted, called *The Bulletin of the Strike*, which was a kind of official gazette of the rioters, proclaimed the beginning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, saying:—

“A great event has taken place in these days in Milan: the substitution of the power of the proletariat for that of the bourgeoisie. The Labour Exchange, in the name of the Milanese proletariat, has virtually taken possession of public power, and now practically works the administrative and political mechanism of the town, which facts assume a profoundly revolutionary significance, showing the proletariat capacity to manage the proletariat Commune. Milan resists; Milan is in the streets, Milan proclaims the cessation of work; Milan imposes the general strike in Italy; Milan is no more the town of all, but the town only of the proletariat.”

King Victor, differing profoundly from the sovereigns to whom Italy has been accustomed for centuries, who considered that bloodshed was the



infallible and only remedy for any revolutionary movement, expressed but one hope, namely, that everything should be done to prevent the cradle of his baby son, the Crown Prince of his kingdom, from being stained with blood, as was certainly the intention of the organizers of the strike. No man better fitted to cope with the situation could be imagined than Signor Giolitti, who assured the King that he was convinced that the movement was not so serious and intense as it appeared, and that if left to itself it would not last long, owing to the good sense and spirit of independence of the Italian masses. Historic traditions and temperament alike make Italians tend to Individualism rather than Socialism, and, in fact, Signor Giolitti's predictions were amply justified, for the Anarchist and Socialist demagogues who thought to move the masses found themselves confronted by a solid undercurrent of resistance in the people, and of open opposition from all enlightened men, even of their own party, such as Signor Turati, the leader of the Reformist-Socialists, who frankly condemned the strike, which ended in ridicule and disapprobation, the reaction against the movement generally being such that the only repression the Government was obliged to use was against the too ardent protectors of public order, who desired to form themselves into a kind of militia, armed with clubs and pistols, to put down its enemies.

Giolitti did not lose a moment, but obtained from the King the dissolution of the Chamber, fixed the general election for the month of November, so that the whole nation could pro-

nounce sentence on what had happened. The verdict was disastrous for all those who had supported an experiment, not only in Socialism but in Anarchy. For over forty years there had not been such a large concourse of electors to the polls, as those who voted were nearly 70 per cent. of the population, even the Catholics for the first time openly joining the other parties of Order to check the representatives of Revolution. Pius X, who had been raised to the Chair of St. Peter only a year before, and who was still in a period of relative honeymoon with Italy, added his quota to the electoral annihilation of the instigators of the strike, by withdrawing for the first time in a general manner the *non expedit*, so that not only the lay Catholics but monks and priests were seen at voting-booths. The popular parties were defeated even in what they considered their impregnable stronghold, Milan, which returned for the first time a Clerical Deputy, while of the Socialists, Turati alone escaped. From that time dates Giolitti's period of omnipotence, which has lasted longer and has been more complete than that of any other politician, perhaps because he has never inordinately clung to power. In 1905, when one of the most important questions of internal politics had to be faced—the control of the railways, which the State was resuming after a period of lease to private companies—Giolitti suddenly decided to resign, on account of his health, according to him and his friends—because he did not feel strong enough to solve the question of the railways, according to his opponents. With a procedure

unknown in Italian parliamentary history, he managed that one of his friends, Signor Fortis, should be entrusted with the formation of the new Cabinet, and should be supported by the Majority of the former Premier. This was considered, and was in reality a Cabinet of one of Giolitti's lieutenants, and it lasted about a year, when Signor Fortis was again called to head a new Ministry; but the Opposition, led by Baron Sonnino, overthrew it after a few weeks, because the Deputy of Dronero withdrew his battalions, proving that a Government without his support could not last. Signor Giolitti came in again in 1906, and the general elections were once more made under his leadership, which secured to him a more overwhelming majority than ever. With his usual independence, after having gone through the hardships imposed upon the Government by the unprecedented disaster of the earthquake of Messina, in the second half of 1909, many questions having accumulated, the solution of which was difficult by the Ministers who were then dealing with them, he found a pretext to present his resignation. Giolitti, even as simple Deputy, continued to be the real master of the situation, and once ready for power, in March 1911, he took the opportunity of the discussion of the Bill for the extension of the Suffrage to deliver a speech in which he expressed more Radical views than those of the then Premier, Signor Luzzatti, affirming the necessity of universal suffrage, granted even to illiterates. "After twenty years from the last electoral law," said Signor Giolitti during the famous sitting of March 18,

"a great social revolution has taken place in Italy, and a great progress has occurred in the economic, intellectual, and moral conditions of the working classes. To this progress corresponds the right to a larger participation in the political life of the nation, as there is nothing worse than to have a parliament assembly which does not thoroughly and sincerely represent the country."

Signor Luzzatti was too clever not to understand what that meant, and without even a contrary vote resigned, and all pointed to Giolitti as the inevitable Premier. The crisis which followed will remain memorable for the open adhesion to the monarchical principle of an important section of the Socialists, led by one of their most influential men. In this Signor Giolitti successfully continued that fortunate policy of the House of Savoy, which, instead of fighting the anti-dynastic elements, convinced them of the utility of monarchical institutions for the better and quicker realization of the ideals dear to them. Giolitti had already in his former Cabinet offered a portfolio to Turati, the Milanese Socialist leader condemned by court martial and imprisoned as a rebel during the riots of 1898. Turati then refused, considering the time not yet ripe. Giolitti now induced Signor Bissolati, leader of the Reformist section of the Socialists and Deputy of one of the Roman constituencies, to accept the portfolio of Agriculture. Signor Bissolati had a most anti-monarchical past, was for many years editor of the *Avanti*, the Socialist organ, then published in Rome, and had taken a most active and violent part in the obstructionist campaign

against the restrictive measures which General Pelloux had presented to Parliament. In the famous sitting of April 3, 1900, when the Extreme Parties left the Chamber in sign of protest, the Majority who remained passed the much-debated Standing Orders to cries of "Long live the King." Hearing this, Deputy Bissolati re-entered, and, standing on the last step of the Socialist benches, shook his fist, shouting three times, "Death to the King!" a cry which had never before been uttered in the Italian Parliament, even by the most rabid anti-monarchists, and which produced such a feeling of astonishment as to paralyse every one, so that the Socialist member left undisturbed. Three months later, King Humbert was killed at Monza by the Anarchist Bresci; and eleven years after, on the 24th of March 1911, the same Deputy Bissolati ascended the stairs of the royal palace of the Quirinal, and was received in private audience by Victor Emmanuel III as an imminent Minister of the Crown.

After a former ministerial crisis, Enrico Ferri, already converted to the wisdom of working under the Monarchy, had begun an article which made a great sensation, saying, "If the King had done me the honour to . . ." and went on to describe what he would have said if he had been called by the Sovereign. No one would have then predicted, nor would Signor Ferri have believed that in so short a time—the advance which he had made being disregarded—another Socialist leader would have received such an invitation. Bissolati's only rebellion was that, instead of going to see the King in a frock coat and top hat, he went in his ordinary

soft hat and grey jacket which, added to his thin and starved appearance, makes him the symbolical figure of the hungry proletariat. He was delighted with the audience and in perfect agreement with Signor Giolitti on the programme of the new Cabinet, but at the last moment another scruple on a question of etiquette made him refuse to enter the Ministry. He said that he could not reconcile himself to the idea of wearing a Minister's uniform or evening dress, which he had never possessed in his life. Meanwhile, Signor Giolitti, who has inherited from Agostino Depretis the nickname of the "Old Fox," had gained the adhesion of the Socialists to his programme, and if Bissolati did not enter the Cabinet, the success was even greater, as he won the Socialists without the presence in the Ministry of a colleague who might have been troublesome.

The new Cabinet went before Parliament on April 6, 1911 with two important questions—a Government monopoly of Life Insurance, destining the proceeds to Old Age Workmen's Pensions, and what almost amounted to Universal Suffrage. The debate lasted three days, and ended with a vote giving the Government a majority of 252, which was important, not only for its size but because it did not comprise either Moderates or Clericals, so that all sections of the Liberal Democratic parties, including the Socialists, voted for the Cabinet, the latter having done so after a speech from Signor Bissolati, in which he gave his full adherence to the programme of the Ministry.

The electoral reform consisted in proposing to

add to the electors those who have served in the Army or Navy, and those who have reached thirty years of age, even if illiterate. Some opposed this last clause, thinking that it removes a stimulus towards the education of the illiterate, but Signor Giolitti contended that if such a spur has had no influence in the nine years before reaching the age of thirty, there is little hope of it taking effect later, while the experience of life acquired by that time may be considered sufficient to take the place of the education given in the primary schools. The discussion aroused by this programme was great and lengthy, but the Bills were passed in the first half of 1912, the State Monopoly on Insurance being approved at the first reading by 289 against 118, while the extension of the suffrage became law almost unanimously. Signor Giolitti, however, will go down to history not so much for his long political reign, or for his parliamentary ability and administrative capacity, as for having been the Premier who organized and carried on the occupation of Tripoli.

## CHAPTER VII

### EXTREME PARTIES

Radicals — Republicans — Socialists — Felice Cavallotti — Andrea Costa—Filippo Turati—Enrico Ferri—"Reformists" and "Revolutionists" — Leonida Bissolati — The "Bloc"—Ernesto Nathan, Mayor of Rome — Anarchism — Enrico Malatesta

WHAT are now called the "Extreme Parties" in Italy comprise the Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists, who in the past had in common an anti-monarchical programme, but all have gone through evolutions which have allowed some of their leading men, such as Crispi and Fortis, to mention only those best known, to gradually change their ideas and become Ministers and Premiers of the King. The Radicals were the most important of the three when they were led by Felice Cavallotti, one of the most fascinating figures of the political and literary life of Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century, tragically killed in his thirty-second duel by Count Macola, a Deputy and editor of a Venetian paper. In 1860, when only eighteen, Cavallotti fought bravely with Garibaldi, and followed him again in 1866 and 1867. He became known as a poet, dramatist, and journal-



ist, but on account of his Republican principles and his fiery temper spent the years between 1867 and 1872 in a constant succession of lawsuits, imprisonments, duels, and exiles. Once in Milan he and a friend challenged all the officers of a cavalry regiment and actually fought a large proportion of them.

In 1873 began his agitated parliamentary career, which was a constant battle for honesty and purity in public life, though some people consider that he was carried to excess by political passion. From rebel Republican he soon became a Radical, and expert parliamentarians predicted that he would be one day Minister of the King, but his early death made it impossible to say whether the prophecy would have been fulfilled. Under his leadership the Radicals were on several occasions masters of the parliamentary situation, as when, after his memorable and pitiless campaign against Crispi, he allied himself with Marquis di Rudinì and upheld him when he went to power. With his disappearance the Radicals, although remaining a group of the Extreme Parties, have in reality become an advanced wing of the Liberals, and have supported Cabinets, notably those of Zanardelli, Luzzatti, and Giolitti, in which their leading men have held office.

The Republicans, who once counted such glorious names among their adherents, now represent rather the remains of a noble past, disbanded from disillusion and age, vowed to a sterile opposition, and deficient in the practical programme necessary for a conquest of the future. This is the more strange when one considers that the Italians,

as a whole, in their inmost hearts are not Monarchists, as for centuries they have always tried to free themselves from the princes, kings, emperors, and popes, native or foreign, who misgoverned and tyrannized over them in turn, aspiring rather to that form of local Republic which, during the Middle Ages, rendered Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, and especially Venice, rich and powerful. By tradition, by history, and by education they were Republicans, either Federalist or Unitarian, and towards the Republic all their efforts tended when, headed by two great leaders, Mazzini and Garibaldi, they initiated the struggle for their national independence. A great diplomatist and statesman, Count Cavour, took advantage of the movement to transform Piedmont and the House of Savoy into the principal elements for the making of United Italy, convinced as he was that with a loyal Monarchy at their head the divided members of the Peninsula would find it easier to amalgamate. Facts proved that he was right, and King Charles Albert first, and Victor Emmanuel after, became the sovereigns of Republicans and Revolutionists, being considered by the ultramontanes of Europe as the partners of conspirators and rebels. They risked their Crown and their State for the ideal of the independence and unity of the country, but they were rewarded by founding the only Monarchy by which the nation could be ruled, through the gratitude they have aroused in their people. The result of this situation and of the popular Government which Victor Emmanuel instituted after the taking of Rome, was that the Republicans

were almost entirely absorbed by the Monarchists, and even those who, strictly following the doctrines of their great master, Mazzini, remained irreconcilable, did so more from the desire for consistency than for any real hatred of the new order of things, or from any profound belief that a change would be for the better. This is illustrated to-day by the political career of one of their greatest orators, Salvatore Barzilai, and by one of their most tenacious partisans, Ettore Ferrari, Grand Master of the Italian Freemasons, neither of whom have ever attempted anything serious against the Monarchy.

After 1870, when Republicans were elected Members of Parliament, their chief demonstration consisted in answering, when called upon to take the oath of allegiance, "I refuse! Long live the Republic!" thus losing their seat. However, they soon learned that without joining in the work of the monarchical Parliament no practical fight for liberty was possible, so, with a very few exceptions, they consented to remain in the Chamber when elected, taking the oath with some kind of mental reservation.

Even admitting the naturally rosy estimates given in the different Republican congresses, the whole party does not exceed twenty to twenty-five thousand throughout Italy, belonging chiefly to Romagna and the surrounding provinces, with considerable groups in Milan and Rome, while outside these regions the number of the Republicans, as given by their own official figures, is insignificant. Monarchism and Socialism have alike contributed

to thin the ranks of Republicanism, the former with the practical working of a democratic Government, which has proved that a Republic would really be, as Armand Carrel said, "the Monarchy less one man," and the latter by practically taking into consideration the economic needs of the people. The Republicans have remained the expression of an intellectual idealism, not responding to the urgent questions for which the masses fight; but the party is still surrounded by an aureole of patriotism, gained during half a century of struggle for the freedom of the country, as was demonstrated when the Republican deputies, having proposed in the Chamber that a monument should be erected to Mazzini in Rome, all the other parties, with the Government at their head, joined, thus making a national manifestation to the memory of the great Thinker and Patriot, who will have his apotheosis in that Eternal City which he ruled as Triumvir, while Garibaldi defended her from the assault of her sister Republic, France.

Although the Socialist party, like all others in Italy, came out of the Revolution which brought about the unity of the country, its development was delayed because the people, absorbed in the great and almost unique political problem of freeing the Peninsula, were not attracted by the new doctrines, which have, above all, an economic aim. In addition, Italy was a rather unfavourable soil for Socialist propaganda, as, up to forty years ago, the country was almost entirely lacking in any great industries, and did not have large agglomerations of working men, while the peasants, then represent-

ing nine-tenths of the labouring classes, were not adapted for the kind of organization which Socialism requires.

In the period which led to the Unification, and in the years immediately following, those who from their political education and temperament were attracted to the Extreme Parties were altogether under the influence of Mazzini, and were therefore Republicans; but the monarchical system which came into force under the House of Savoy was inspired by such democratic principles that the Republicans soon lost ground, especially after the death of their great Apostle. Some turned Monarchists, thinking that, given the actual situation, the best thing for the country was to support the dynasty, but others became even more advanced and embraced "Internationalism," a kind of Anarchism of those days which had been imported by Bakounine, and which reached its climax in 1871, numbering about 10,000 members, from among whom Socialism later gathered many of its followers.

The first leader of the Italian Socialists was Andrea Costa, who, as soon as the franchise was extended,—becoming practically universal, since all citizens who knew how to read and write and were of age could vote,—was elected Deputy for Imola. He was frequently imprisoned for his political ideas and often in exile, when he lived with the Socialist, Karl Marx. Andrea Costa was a typical son of Romagna, quick tempered, loyal, and prepared to make any sacrifice for his principles, but at the same time noble and generous to his

opponents. Among the many trials against him for political crimes one remained famous, in which Carducci, Italy's greatest modern poet, and Aurelio Saffi, the patriot, witnessed in his favour, proclaiming the high esteem they felt for him as a man and as a party leader. With that winning impetuosity which was peculiar to him, Costa proudly addressed the President of the Court, saying, "I would not for anything change my bench of accused with your gilded chair. You persecute us, you arrest us, you condemn us, but we change your courts into tribunes to propagate our ideas." Once elected Deputy and having taken the prescribed oath of allegiance, the Anarchists, who up to that moment had been united to the Socialists, hurled anathema against him by the mouth of Malatesta and Cafiero,—the former an exile in London, the latter a rich Neapolitan Internationalist who had spent a fortune for the cause. From that moment dates the complete separation between Anarchists and Socialists and the growing influence of the latter, even outside the proletariat, so much so that a time came when it was fashionable to be a Socialist, or to sympathize warmly with them. Prince Baldassarre Odescalchi and Prince Scipione Borghese, both descendants of popes and cardinals, belonging to families representing the most Conservative traditions, went arm in arm with Socialists, and Gabriele D'Annunzio, the most aristocratic poet and Superman of the present generation, having been elected Deputy, notwithstanding his having called Parliament "the great Beast," theatrically passed from

the Extreme Right to the Extreme Left of the Chamber and became a member of the Socialist parliamentary group, upholding their theories and voting with them. This heterogeneous union, however, did not last long, and notwithstanding the pride the Socialists felt in having among them the great literary man, and the pleasure he felt in posing as a person of most advanced views, the inevitable happened and the separation took place, being called a "divorce for incompatibility of temper." Prince Odescalchi, who had been a member of the deputation which carried the plebiscite of Rome in October 1870 to Victor Emmanuel in Florence, was for a moment expected to start a Christian Socialist party ; but nothing came of it, and in 1896 he was created Senator, and dedicated the remainder of his life more to artistic than social questions.

It can hardly be said that a real Socialist party existed in Italy before 1891, when their first Congress was held in Genoa and their first newspaper, the *Critica Sociale*, was started in Milan by Signor Turati, their most formidable organizer and orator, who preached in it the theories of Marx. Filippo Turati, a Milanese, like most of the Socialist leaders in Italy belongs to the wealthy middle class and comes from a most Conservative family, his father having been a strict and rigid Prefect, a kind of provincial Governor, who was most severe in putting down all attempts on the part of the lower classes. His son, after having studied profoundly economic and social questions, embraced Socialism and became a power chiefly

through his sarcastic oratory. Practising as well as preaching, he employs a large part of his considerable wealth in Socialist propaganda, and in keeping up the *Critica Sociale*. By this time the condition of the workmen had considerably changed, especially in the north, with the growth of industries, making Milan, Turin, and Genoa centres for Socialist teaching, which extended from thence throughout Lombardy, Piedmont, Liguria, and Emilia. Socialist clubs were instituted in these regions, which distinguished themselves by their intransigence, fighting indiscriminately all other parties, even those that at first sight might seem to have some items of their programme in common, such as Radicals and Republicans, who indeed were attacked more fiercely than any by the apostles of the new faith.

This isolation, and the tendency of the Italian character to Individualism rather than Collectivism, were not favourable to a rapid development of the Socialists, but they found an unexpected and unconscious ally in the Government. The persecutions of Signor Crispi in 1894-95, who was determined to annihilate them, the repression by Marquis di Rudinì in 1898, and the coercion of General Pelloux which followed, did more for the party and the popularity of their doctrines than all their propaganda.

The Socialists realized that with men such as Crispi, Rudinì, and Pelloux in power, it was not the moment for the rigid application of the doctrines of Marx, but that the most urgent necessity was the defence of the liberties and rights granted by



the Constitution, which, had they been alone and therefore too weak, those Premiers might have annulled. Thus came about the alliance between Socialists, Republicans, Radicals, and even Constitutional Democrats, the latter led by Signor Zanardelli, who together conducted that famous campaign which reached its climax in the long and fierce obstructionism against the Pelloux Cabinet. The Socialist parliamentary group was then entirely under the influence of one of their most fascinating men, Enrico Ferri, who had deserted for politics the world of science, where he was a shining light of the new school of criminology which had Cesare Lombroso, another Socialist, as its greatest exponent. Ferri wrote his first book when he was twenty-one, and since then his publications followed each other in rapid succession until 1886, when he gave up his Professorship of Criminal Law in the University to become a Deputy. At first, though sitting at the Extreme Left, he did not openly adhere to any group, and it was only in 1893 that he joined the Socialists, becoming one of their most brilliant and violent orators, to whom were due the greatest storms of the obstructionist period. He overestimated, however, his power of holding the Extreme Left under his sway, so that soon even his friends objected to his Dictatorship both in the Chamber and in his position as editor of the *Avanti*, the organ of the Socialist party.

The Socialists ended by being simply a section of the so-called "popular parties" which, triumphing in the general elections of 1900, returned about a

hundred deputies, thirty of whom were Socialists, thus rendering the resignation of General Pelloux and his colleagues inevitable. These successes had the effect of changing the moral atmosphere which surrounded Socialism in its earlier days, while contact with other parties necessitated frequent concessions and compromises in order to make combinations possible in the common interest. Thus to the old exclusiveness followed a kind of opportunism; to the original revolutionary character succeeded a milder attitude, satisfied with demanding evolution and reform. This change met with no difficulties as long as the presence and power of Conservative administrations rendered the union with other parties indispensable, but as soon as the Zanardelli-Giolitti Ministry assured that democratic direction to home policy for which the Socialists had struggled, two distinct tendencies manifested themselves in their ranks. This was the chief question discussed at the National Socialist Congress of Imola in 1902, one of the most important held by the party. Turati, representing that section which, on account of its programme, is called "Reformist," fought a magnificent duel in words with Ferri, leader of the "Revolutionist" wing. Turati maintained that Socialism had never been so strong, having become the hub around which the whole legislative work of the country revolved, thus rendering absolutely necessary an intelligent holding of the balance between the other parties in order to reach the gradual realization of those financial, economic, and social reforms which he considered a true and

practical revolution. To the objections put forward that the party had lost its unity, he remarked that this was a quality natural in their early days, when they were few, or during the periods of great persecution, when all their efforts were needed to defend their existence, but not when they had passed to the offensive, to positive action in all directions, leaving no problem and no side of public life untouched, engaging in hundreds of battles on different fields at the same time, which, he said, must necessarily be conducted by methods changing according to the diverse atmosphere in which they take place, although all aim at one end.

Ferri was equally eloquent in sustaining that, abandoning revolutionary methods, Socialism would soon degenerate, lose its hold on the masses and betray its mission. According to him, not only no support, but not even a truce, should ever be accorded to any Cabinet of the bourgeoisie, no matter how Liberal, as it is only through a continuous persistent fight, through an unabated "struggle of classes," that Collectivism will ultimately be reached, creating a new society, in which all inequality, injustice, and exploitation of the poor will be suppressed. Notwithstanding the fascination of such a programme, especially when uttered with the magic eloquence of a man like Ferri, the "Revolutionists" were defeated by 417 votes to 275, while an order of the day was passed almost unanimously which denied in substance the existence of opposite tendencies, stating that there was merely a division of work with the view of better developing the common programme through

gradual conquests, capable of raising the moral, intellectual, and social standard of the proletariat. It was, in other words, the triumph of Turati and the "Reformists," the victory of practical good sense over sterile doctrines, and it meant the evolution of Socialism towards existing institutions, as had already taken place in Germany under the leadership of Bebel, Liebknecht, Bernstein, and Wollmar, and in France under Guesde, Jaurès, and Millerand, the last of whom had become a member of a Cabinet of the bourgeoisie Republic.

Meanwhile the ascendancy of Enrico Ferri over the party had been constantly decreasing, and, having lost the editorship of the *Avanti*, he went to South America for a tour of lectures in the Argentine and Brazil, from whence he returned, still calling himself a Socialist, but proclaiming the necessity of taking office even under a Monarchy. He delivered a lecture on the countries he had visited, before the King himself, began by the word "Sire," and received the congratulations of His Majesty, who shook hands with the former dreaded agitator.

The adhesion of Bissolati to the Giolitti Cabinet of 1911 and his visit to the Quirinal took place, shortly after, but since this attitude on the part of his colleague, Turati has become an opponent of the idea that the Socialists should take part in an isolated manner in a Ministry under the monarchical régime.

Bissolati is not the real name of the Socialist leader who is thus known and who is certainly one of the best-balanced and most statesman-like minds



LEONIDA BISSOLATI



in his party. He was born of a modest family of Cremona called Bergamaschi, but assumed his present name out of gratitude to Professor Stefano Bissolati, an ex-priest who educated him and loved him as a son. He took his degree in Law, and as a young man was a member of a club professing the Republican Federalist ideas of Carlo Cattaneo, the great historian and jurisconsult, who, although like many Italian patriots and revolutionists, had been educated in a Catholic seminary, fought in the memorable "five days" of Milan, and was such a convinced Republican that he opposed the union of Lombardy to Piedmont, migrating to Switzerland rather than live in his own country under a king.

Bissolati, however, passed from Republicanism to Socialism, becoming one of the most active of proselytizers, spending months in going from place to place on his bicycle preaching the Socialist gospel. Once Deputy, he continued his apostolate in Parliament, and the persuasiveness of his arguments on several occasions induced even deputies outside the Extreme Left to support him, as, for example, when he made a personal inquiry into the question of "forced domicile," drawing such harrowing pictures of the condition of those suffering this punishment that even allowing for exaggeration due to party feeling, he gained the sympathy of the majority of the Chamber. He was the founder and first editor of the *Avanti*, which he again directed after the departure of Ferri for America. Although a Socialist he did not blindly subscribe to all the theories of his party, so that he always refused to decline duels when challenged,

and among the many he fought was one against that Deputy Macola, to whose sword was due the death of Felice Cavallotti. This sketch would not be complete without adding that notwithstanding his cadaverous appearance he is a sportsman, an untiring swimmer, cyclist, and alpinist, so that he often climbs to one of the highest peaks of Italy to celebrate among the snows either Christmas or New Year's Day.

The Socialists, even after their complete separation from the Anarchists, wavered frequently between the Revolutionist and Reformist tendencies, their leaders, whether called Ferri, Turati, or Bissolati, emphasizing, according to circumstances, one or the other to reach the desired aim. Notwithstanding the mistakes which all parties make, especially young parties inexperienced in political life, there is no doubt that Socialism has had, on the whole, a salutary effect, particularly in Parliament and in the administration of State, exercising a severe control on the work of those in power and acting either as a brake or as a stimulus. It has changed considerably from what it was fifteen years ago; its original revolutionary character has almost entirely given place to co-operation with the other democratic elements in the country, working together with them for social and economic reforms, which have helped to raise the standard of comfort for the people, and have given them a share in the prosperity which, since the beginning of this century, the nation has undoubtedly enjoyed. All this has not been gained without severe struggles and deep divisions in the



party. To understand the difficulties of the situation, it must be remembered that Signor Giolitti fell in 1893 amidst the vituperation and hatred of the Extreme Parties, the most violent against him being the few members of the newborn Socialist group, and that, on his return to power in 1901, together with Zanardelli, he presented such a democratic programme that it was possible for the Reformist section of the party to work with him. The friction between the two tendencies became especially acute in 1904, when the Revolutionists organized a general strike which failed; but they managed to be victorious in the Congress of Bologna, owing to the irresistible eloquence of Ferri, who, leading a majority which called itself Intransigent, managed to bring about a compromise between the Sindicalists led by Labriola, the Neapolitan editor of the *Propaganda*, and the Reformists under Turati. The Congress in Rome in 1906 had practically the same result, but finally, in the Congress of Florence in 1908, the Reformists carried the day, obtaining an overwhelming majority, which has retained command of the party ever since. In the general elections of 1909 the Socialists gained more seats, and for the first time a Socialist, Bissolati, represented one of the Roman constituencies, thus at last invading the Capital after having for several years the upper hand in Turin, the cradle of the House of Savoy. It must not, however, be taken for granted that the several thousand electors who voted for Bissolati are necessarily all Socialists, as those belonging to that party are, in fact, an insignificant

minority, the leader having been elected for his personal gifts and character rather than for his political opinions, and still more as a reaction against the Clerico-Conservatives who had for years sent to Parliament Colonel Santini, a naval doctor, who represented the union of the ultra-Monarchists with the Clericals, being one of the few members of the Chamber who did not hesitate to visit the present Pope.

The so-called "Bloc," formed by Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists, gained about forty seats in the elections of 1909, and the same union having taken place in the municipal elections, the administration of a considerable number of towns passed from the Clerico-Conservatives or moderate Liberals into the hands of the Extreme Parties. The most typical change was that in Rome, where the semi-Clericals who had ruled the Capital for years were swept away by the "Bloc," which brought to the position of first magistrate in the centre of Christendom Signor Ernesto Nathan, a Londoner by birth but a naturalized Italian, a Republican in politics, having been the faithful pupil of Mazzini, and the collector and editor of his works, a Jew by race, ex-Grand Master of the Italian Freemasons, who in Italy have as main object to fight the Papacy.

A characteristic feature of the Italian Socialists is that while entirely in favour of peace and the reduction of military expenses, they have never gone to the excesses of the Hervéists in France, and must be considered, on the whole, a patriotic party. They have made mistakes, as, for example,

when they were led by Deputy Morgari of Turin into that proposal to hiss the Czar as a protest against his internal policy, which prevented his visit to Italy, thus checking a *rapprochement* between the two nations which was greatly to the advantage of Italy in her foreign affairs. On the other hand, some of the Socialists have been the first in the Extreme Parties to support Italy's alliance with the Central Empires as the best guarantee for peace, and when war with Turkey was declared in 1911, the greater part of the Socialists were in its favour, Bissolati going so far as to declare that he would rather leave the party than change his attitude on this question. For this reason both he and Ferri, while declaring that they remain Socialists, left the ranks of the party at the beginning of 1912, Ferri even resigning his seat in the Chamber, lest he no longer represented the ideas of his constituents; but he was re-elected by a large majority.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The annual National Socialist Congress met in July 1912, at Reggio Emilia, with the determination on the part of the Revolutionists to expel from the Party Bissolati and his friends, guilty of having supported the Government in the war against Turkey, and of having applauded the success of the army and navy, in the case of Bissolati of having consented to be received in audience by the King, and he and his friends having gone to the Quirinal Palace to congratulate the Monarch on his escape from d'Alba's attempt on his life. The debate lasted several days, and was most animated. Bissolati delivered a masterly speech in which he demonstrated that the Socialists, by the mere fact of allowing themselves to be elected Members of Parliament, take part in the government of the country, and as it would be folly to wait to go to power until an entire Socialist Cabinet can be formed, he thought the opportune moment had come to accept the invitation to visit the King, to whom he expounded a programme of social reform which the Sovereign approved. In so doing he had paved the way for some other Socialist to form

During the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century Italy had the unenviable distinction of being the land which produced the largest number of active anarchists, who were the instruments for so-called political crimes. Before that time Anarchism did not exist in Italy, but it developed out of the remnants of the disbanded Internationalists, at first composed principally of men who, from various circumstances, were opposed to organized society, which they believed to be the cause of all their misfortunes. Before the Unity of Italy they were conspirators, belonging to the most audacious secret societies, and when the whole country accepted the Savoy Monarchy, they became Republicans, as a Republic represented, in their eyes, the most advanced expression of revolution. Later they turned Internationalists and Socialists, and later still they became Anarchists, ready to join any other party which would furnish an even more violent creed.

It has never been possible to ascertain whether Giovanni Passanante, who tried to murder King Humbert a few months after his ascension to the throne, belonged to the Internationalists, but it is undoubted that the Internationalist propaganda influenced his criminal purpose. During the

part of a Government. He defended his action in sending greetings to the soldiers fighting in Africa by saying that it is not true that Socialism is against the preparation for war or against the use of armed force or the military valour of the people. All was in vain. The Revolutionists, led by Turati, decreed by an overwhelming majority the expulsion of Bissolati and his followers.

The next day Bissolati, together with some of the best known Socialists, including thirteen Deputies, formed the "Socialist-Reformist Party."

demonstrations of rejoicing over the escape of the King, who was only slightly wounded, the Internationalists provoked disorders, and in Florence threw bombs among the crowd, killing and wounding several people. The progress that this dangerous association had made is proved by the statement in the Chamber of Signor Zanardelli, then Minister of the Interior, that no less than 237 Internationalist clubs existed, an admission which created such an impression that the Cabinet was overthrown.

The serious "work" of Italian anarchy began with the murder of President Sadi Carnot, by Sante Caserio, in 1894. This evidently encouraged other anarchists, for their crimes followed each other closely. Lega fired at Crispi, Acciarito tried to stab King Humbert, Angiolillo shot the Spanish Premier, Canovas del Castillo, Lucheni assassinated the Empress of Austria, and Bresci killed King Humbert. It is a remarkable feature of the list that, until d'Alba attempted the life of Victor Emmanuel III none of these anarchists committed their crimes before having lived abroad, where the germs of what is called "Individualist" or "Terrorist" anarchy are imbibed. This would go to prove that Italians, impulsive by nature and sanguinary by heredity, are not, when left to themselves, capable of cold-blooded premeditated crimes, which must be instigated by abler "companions" abroad. The apparent contradiction between the kind-heartedness and gentleness of the Italian people and the high rate of bloody crimes in the Peninsula is explained by the fact that human life is un-

doubtedly held more cheaply there than in other civilized countries. To Italians of a certain class, accustomed for generations to a profound disbelief in the justice and incorruptibility of their rulers, it does not appear a heinous crime to take the law into their own hands and commit murder for righteous revenge, or for the liberation of the oppressed, or for any other cause which appears to them noble and generous. Murders, most of which in the minds of those who commit them have this character, are perpetuated to the amazing number of four thousand a year, an average of over ten a day. This rate is four times as great as it is in Prussia, five times as great as in France and Switzerland, and sixteen times as great as in England—and this without taking into consideration the wounded, who average from eighty thousand to ninety thousand a year, or even more, as there is a rooted custom among the people to conceal from the law injuries received and the name of the offender, in order that they may take private revenge. The use of the knife among the lower classes has reached such lengths, that a league has been started against that weapon, and a law passed making it a punishable offence for anyone to carry a knife measuring more than three centimetres, or about an inch and a quarter long, or one the blade of which can be fixed so as to be used as an arm of offence.

Another reason which makes the Italian a recruit of Anarchism is his hereditary leaning towards secret societies, which in the past honeycombed the land, and which still accustom him to the idea

of imposing his will and exacting punishment for injuries without going through any legal form. In such a soil there is little cause for surprise if the exciting influence of anarchic literature takes root rapidly and produces a terrible harvest. It preaches to the pitifully poor and to the illiterate of "laws which must disappear, and Society, resting on principles of oppression which must expect acts of violence and revolution—and when the situation is too strained and the state of mind is in advance of the existing social order, there must be an immediate solution." "Immediate solution" meaning, of course, to the individualist anarchists, bombs, revolvers, and daggers, just as "displacement of property" is a euphemism for stealing. The best-known living Italian anarchist is Enrico Malatesta, who, after escaping from prison in the most hazardous way and revisiting the Peninsula several times without being taken by the police, established himself in London. "The objects of the anarchists," he declares, "are love, justice, liberty, brotherhood, and equality, which can be obtained only through revolution," and, above all, "anti-parliamentarianism, by which abolition of government is to be accomplished and then the abolition of private property."

## CHAPTER VIII

### SOUTH ITALY

Problems of the South, financial and moral—Camorra—Mafia—Notarbartolo murder trial—The Saredo inquiry into corruption—Characteristics of the people—Remedies and reform—The “disembowelling” of Naples—The need of water—An aqueduct worthy of the ancient Romans

OF all the problems which United Italy has to face none is at once so urgent and so difficult of solution as that of the raising the southern part of the kingdom to the same level of civilization and prosperity as the North. Racial characteristics, rooted traditions, economic difficulties, the illiteracy of the people, and the maleficent forces of Nature—cholera, malaria, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions—have vied with each other to plunge the inhabitants of Sicily and the old kingdom of Naples, although naturally cheerful, intelligent, and industrious, into such moral and material poverty as renders the sacrifices and efforts to uplift and assist them made by the Italian Government and their fellow-countrymen less fruitful than was hoped. In the past they endured every kind of government except a just one. Greek and Roman, Ostrogoth and Lombard, Norman and Angevin, Spaniard and Bourbon, each in turn coveted this fair and fertile land, and



ruled it for their own pleasure and profit not for that of the natives of the country. Opposition to the Government and despair of obtaining justice or protection from their rulers became inbred in the people, and resulted in their taking to a great extent the law into their own hands, developing through secret societies, such as the Camorra, the Mafia, and the Mala Vita, a kind of self-government which at its best dispensed a rude justice between man and man, upholding the primeval laws of personal honour and revenge for injury ; at its worst constituted a moral miasma over the social life of the people, in which the stronger and bolder lived by protecting and taking advantage of the vices of the weak. This state of things has had its outcome in such celebrated cases as the condemnation of Deputy Casale, accused of being the head of the Neapolitan Camorra ; the Notarbartolo murder trial, in which Deputy Palizzolo, tried as the head of the Mafia, was brought before the Court of Assize as the murderer of Comm. Notarbartolo, but was acquitted ; the trial of Nunzio Nasi for malpractices and defalcations in his position as Minister of Instruction, which, although he was condemned, only resulted in the apotheosis of the dishonest functionary by his compatriots as a hero and a martyr ; or in the notorious Cuocolo murder trial, which exposed to the world the sordid and nefarious workings of the modern Camorra of Naples.<sup>1</sup>

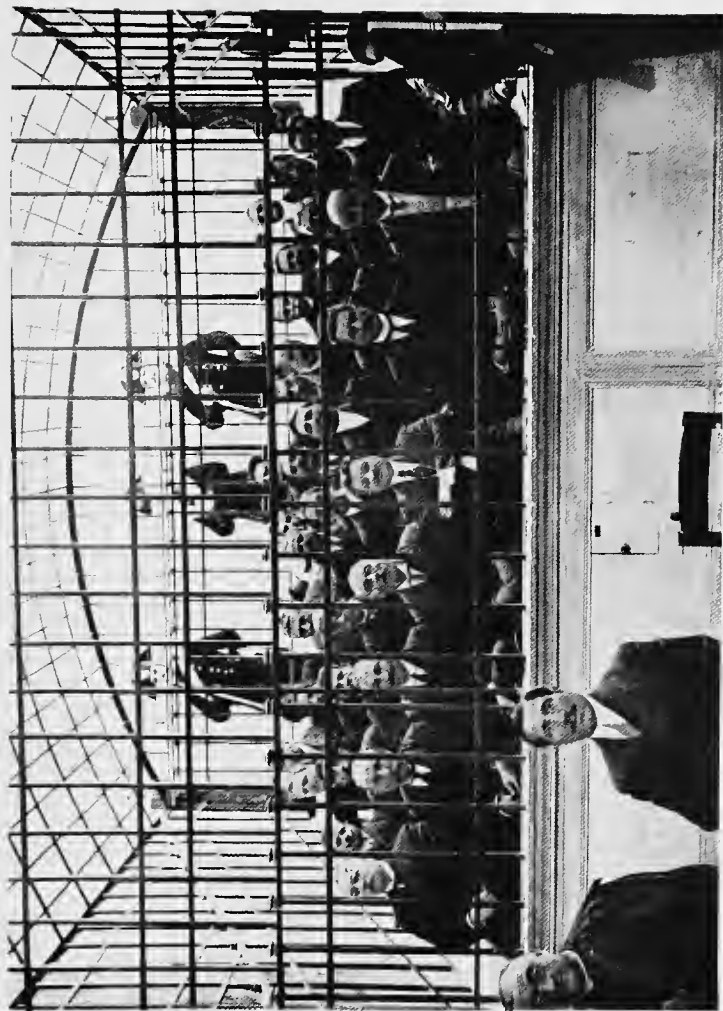
This criminal plague spot was, it seems, first imported into Spain by the Arabs, and from thence

<sup>1</sup> The Cuocolo murder trial, to remove it from the atmosphere of Naples, took place in Viterbo, and lasted about seventeen months, being perhaps the longest known in Italy. It ended on the 8th July

was brought to Naples at the time of the Spanish domination, where it assumed such vast proportions as to impose its will upon even the rulers of the country, becoming almost a recognized institution, from which Government and police, not only in the distant past, but even in relatively recent days, have asked support, giving their protection in exchange.

Public life in the South was almost entirely subject to the Camorra, which was the chief factor in political elections, and master of the municipality. In 1860, immediately after the conquest of the Two Sicilies by Garibaldi, while the General was still Dictator in Naples, there was an attempt to create order through disorder, that is, to "set a thief to catch a thief." The affiliates of the association were charged with the police service. At first all went well, the Camorristas were animated with great zeal, but before long it was observed that the octroi, which brings in the largest contribution to the income of the city, had practically ceased to yield any revenue. On inquiry, it was discovered that all dutiable objects were allowed to pass without question by those who said "it belongs to Beppino," the diminutive of Giuseppe, by which name the great General was known to the Neapolitans. Silvio Spaventa, the patriot who suffered imprisonment under the Bourbons, one of the noblest figures among the Italian politicians of the day, and himself a southerner, determined to stamp out the pest, and, helped by General Lamarmora, threw into prison, or sent to forced domicile, thousands of

1912, in a severe sentence on all the accused, supposed to be the leader and chief officials of the Neapolitan Camorra, and it was believed that it struck the deathblow to that criminal association.



THE IRON CAGE CONTAINING THE ACCUSED IN THE CAMORRA TRIAL AT VITERBO



Camorristi. In the year in which this general exodus took place crime diminished 45 per cent. in the city, thus proving what an effect a real and permanent break up of the Society would have. Spaventa, unfortunately, could not carry out his programme to the end, as he fell from power, and the Camorristi whom he had sent to prison returned more depraved, more arrogant, bolder than before. The first time Spaventa went to Naples after ceasing to be Minister, he was attacked and beaten without it being possible to bring the culprits to justice, and it was indeed afterwards known that they had been presented with a *bâton* of honour by their associates. Unscrupulous politicians and officials, having seen the efforts to get rid of the plague frustrated, thought it better to make use of it for political and police purposes. For instance, a cab strike created a deadlock in the life of Naples. Nothing seemed to satisfy the strikers or induce them to resume work. The Chief of Police, Pennino, at the end of his resources, went to the then head of the Camorra, the famous Ciccio Cappuccio. No one knows of what the agreement between the two consisted, but after the interview Cappuccio went through all the low quarters of Naples, sitting on the box of a cab, cracking the whip, and crying, "Companions, harness your horses and go out!" and one hour later, without any explanation, the three thousand cabs of the city were at work again.

In the great popular festivals of Piedigrotta and Montevergine, Ciccio Cappuccio, who was perhaps the most powerful modern leader of the Camorra, used to appear in a superb carriage with three

horses, bowed down to by all, returning the salutations with the air of a prince, while all vehicles, without exception, made way for him.

As has always been the case with intelligent malefactors, the heads of the Camorra succeeded in gaining a great ascendancy over the people, not only by terrorism, but by doing acts of real justice. One day a poor music-teacher, whose sole means of living consisted in an old piano, returned home to find his instrument stolen. He rushed to the police and judges, but without gaining any redress. Desperate, he went to implore the aid of Cappuccio, who was really touched by his despair, so that three hours afterwards the piano, brought by unknown hands, stood in its accustomed place. The musician, full of gratitude, ran to offer his watch as a gift to Cappuccio, who thereupon, declaring that he had only done what he felt to be his duty, kicked him out of the house.

The Camorra became in later years a political instrument when it recognized as its supreme head Deputy Casale, who, from 1892, for eight years, was constantly returned without opposition to the Chamber, none daring to stand against him. His power was so great that he used to be called the "King of Naples," nor was that a misapplied title, as whoever is at the head of the dreaded Society is credited with having in his hands the lives and interests not only of the inhabitants of the largest town of the kingdom, but of almost the whole south of Italy. Socialism, although never strong in the South because of this criminal organization, played a fine part when a small Socialist paper of Naples, the *Propaganda*, was

the first to publicly denounce Deputy Casale, challenging him to demonstrate that, since he was without any profession, art, or trade, he was not drawing his income from illicit sources. The Deputy thought his best plan was boldness, so he brought a suit against the paper, giving it the opportunity to prove its assertions. Notwithstanding the combined efforts of the influential members of the Camorra, the trial resulted in a complete defeat for Casale and his supporters, proving clearly the immense corruption of the whole administration of Naples, which consequently resigned in a body.

The Camorra, as it has existed until lately, is divided into fourteen gangs, or corps, corresponding to the fourteen regions of Naples, each of which is composed of twenty-four *Camorristi*, and forty-eight *Picciotti*, or aspirants, every Camorrist having two of the latter under his command, one to watch over him and the other to serve him. The *Picciotti* in their turn have five or six *Giovani Onorati* (honoured youths) attached to them. The *Giovani Onorati* pay for the privilege of being taken under the protection of the "honoured Society," as the Camorra is called in their slang, and according to the aptitude which they show in their career, they are first promoted *Picciotti* and then *Camorristi*. This constituted in Naples alone a body of about five thousand men, determined, resolute, and of proved astuteness and intelligence, forming 'an army which had its ramifications in almost every class of society. There are only two high officers in the Camorra, the head, called *Capo in*

*Testa*, and the *Contaiuolo*, or cashier, the latter replacing the former when necessary. These two positions exist for reasons of organization in each of the fourteen gangs, but the head of heads is the supreme master, while the cashiers are chosen among old Camorristi who have distinguished themselves by knowing how to make the affiliates pay their percentages, and if necessary exact it by violence. The chief funds of the Society come from gambling, usury, and shares in the thefts committed. The cashier visits low taverns and goes from table to table obliging men to play, and demands twopence out of each tenpence betted, enforcing his will at the point of the knife, and very seldom meeting with resistance. Frequently he lends money to the players with an interest of twopence in every tenpence, if the money is returned at once, or twopence a day on every tenpence until principal and interest are paid. Various punishments are inflicted on disobedient members, the most common being the *sfregio*, a razor-cut on the cheek; death is only decreed in case of treason, but the fiat once gone forth there is no escape from it.

The Notarbartolo case, which has been mentioned before, serves to illustrate the organization and power of the Mafia, the sister criminal association to that on the Italian mainland. Commendatore Emanuele Notarbartolo, an honest and distinguished politician and Bank Director, was, towards the end of the nineties, one of the most prominent figures in Sicily. First as Mayor of Palermo, and afterwards as Director of the Bank of



Sicily, he led a most energetic and courageous campaign against all kinds of corruption and intrigue which chiefly had their origin in the Mafia. Notarbartolo's unpopularity deprived him of both offices, but in a few years the Bank was so discredited that the Government ordered an inquiry ; the great Bank crisis of 1893 followed all over the country, and the return of Notarbartolo to the Bank of Sicily was considered imminent. He was first warned by being kidnapped by brigands, but on his release he made it clear that he had not been intimidated. Accordingly, the decision was taken to "suppress" him. One evening he started from his country residence by rail for Palermo, and on the arrival of the train he had disappeared. An examination of the carriage revealed stains of blood and signs of a struggle, while a search-party along the railway line discovered his body on a bridge, showing that his murderers had hoped to conceal their crime by casting the remains, which were cut and slashed in the most horrible manner, into the river. This happened on the night of February 1, 1893, but for about seven years the perpetrators of the barbarous crime went unpunished, although every time that the question of the trial arose there was no doubt in the public mind as to the identity of the man who carried out the murder, or that of the man who instigated it. From the first the police were fully informed, and several times sent their reports to the Courts for the necessary orders to act ; but on one occasion the report was spirited away in its journey from one office to another in the same town ; on another,

the same thing happened to the orders of the judicial authorities; on others, no orders were given at all. The man who was responsible for the murder had never been even interrogated, while the actual author, a certain Fontana, who was once arrested, proved an alibi, according to which he was at the time in Tunis, and he had to be released, although both police and judges were convinced of his guilt. In all this an intangible all-powerful influence was only too evident, which prevented justice from following its course. To be outside its radius the Government ordered that the trial should take place in Milan, and while it was going on the son of the murdered man, a young lieutenant in the Navy, rose, and in a voice shaking with indignation said, "He who ordered the assassination, he who is the real murderer is Deputy Palizzolo, the head of the Mafia." Notwithstanding the assertion of the young officer, confirmed by evidence and by the depositions of heads of police and prefects in the island, Deputy Palizzolo was not molested, as he enjoyed parliamentary immunity, and he went from Rome to Palermo, where his supporters received him with almost royal honours, and he addressed them as follows: "We must keep united, as this is a war of Northern Italy against Sicily," thus endeavouring to resuscitate the old antagonism between North and South.

At last the perseverance of Lieutenant Notarbartolo in collecting evidence against his father's assassins and their instigator was so great that the Government of the time thought the moment had

come to deal a severe blow at the Mafia, by striking its acknowledged Head, Deputy Palizzolo. The difficulty always existed that it was impossible to start any procedure against him without the authorization of the Chamber on account of his parliamentary prerogatives, while it was feared that if he knew with what he was threatened, he would escape abroad, which is a most common thing among Sicilian criminals, separated as they are by only a few hours from Malta, Egypt, or Tunis.

Something quite unprecedented in the annals of parliamentary history took place in order to secure him. The Government suspended all telegraphic communication with Sicily, presented to the Chamber the request to arrest and try Deputy Palizzolo, which passed it on immediately to the Committee, which in its turn made its report that same day, and it was approved a few hours later by the Chamber, so that on the very evening that the capture of the famous Deputy was decided upon, he was secured before any news of what was going on had reached Sicily.

To describe the Mafia in a few words is not easy. Among the regions of Italy, Sicily is the one which has preserved most of mediaeval tradition, and the idea that every man should be his own avenger, at all times, and in all ways, has become an ineradicable feeling in the Sicilians. The Bourbon rule, with its cruelty, tyranny, and injustice, fostered this conviction not only among the people, but also among that portion of the aristocracy exposed to the abuses of the Government. The humble citizen had the knife, the

noble the sword, but often the latter made use of the former as the instrument of his revenge, to whom, in exchange, he never denied the support of his authority and influence when called upon, and thus originated that tacit accord against all constituted authority, which was the nucleus of a kind of association to which all were admitted who had given proof of undoubted courage. In the rebellions and insurrections against the Bourbons they were ever to the fore. When the times changed with the unity of the country, the better element, having no more reason for conspiracy, dropped the association, leaving the dregs to form an inorganic, almost impalpable body, which co-operated for mutual benefit in crime, its chief aim being self-advantage, to be obtained by any means. If anyone stands in the way, either he must withdraw or take the consequences: one day his dead body will be discovered without the possibility of ascertaining who was the murderer. This was the case with Notarbartolo, and also with Lieutenant Petrosino, the famous American detective, sixteen years later. Not one person would give evidence, for the unwritten code of the Society forbids recourse to justice, and anyone who violates this law is considered "infamous," that is, subject to death.

To the accomplices and those who really execute the crime there is a guarantee of safety in the knowledge that behind them exists an organization connecting the meanest agent with the most powerful conspirator, an organization which has as its chief object to render justice impotent, and

which embraces members who are often personally unknown to each other.

An instance or two will give a better idea of the power of this dreaded Society. Commendatore Giacosa, brother of the well-known dramatist, was sent to Palermo to conduct the preliminary examinations in connexion with certain bloody Mafia outrages which took place in 1866. In a few weeks he had all the threads in his hands, and came to the conclusion that the organizer of the crimes was one of the best-known patricians—a member of the Senate. Proud of his discovery, he sent a report to the Minister of Justice, but received no answer, and three days afterwards was transferred to Florence.

Only one man had the courage to try to stamp out the Mafia, and this was Nicotera, Home Minister in the first Liberal Cabinet of United Italy. At that time, in 1876, there was still brigandage in Calabria, headed by the famous Sinardi. Nicotera called the Prefect whom he most trusted, Malusardi, and said, "Your career is assured if, having every means at your disposal, you take Sinardi." When this was accomplished the Home Minister said, "Now turn your attention to the brigand Leone, in Sicily." Malusardi went to Sicily, but so much time passed without news that Nicotera became impatient, and an exchange of telegrams took place between the two, somewhat as follows:—

"Why do you not get Leone?"

"Because he is protected by the Mafia."

"Take him in spite of it."

"I cannot, because he is the most influential elector of the Deputy in whose constituency his head-quarters are."

"Who is the Deputy?"

"Baron Torina, one of the heads of the Mafia."

Nicotera called upon the Baron to make short work of the brigand, saying that if within six days Leone were not in the hands of the police the Baron should go to prison for the rest of his life. As Torina resisted, Nicotera dissolved the Chamber in order to deprive him of his parliamentary immunity, put him under police surveillance, and proposed him for forced domicile. Shortly afterwards Leone's hiding-place was discovered, and he was killed in the fight which followed.

But—not much time passed before Nicotera was no longer Minister, and Malusardi was superannuated.

During the Notarbartolo trial it was found that a member of the aristocracy, Prince Mirto, had concealed in one of his castles the actual author of the crime, whom he gave up only after having been threatened with arrest and prosecution. A Senator and ex-Mayor of Palermo, Duke della Verdura, was accused of complicity; another Deputy, Fili-Astolfone, was denounced as having been the head of a branch of the Mafia, the famous and bloody Fratellanza of Girgenti; judges, chiefs of police, and even officers of the gendarmes were also shown to have favoured the Mafia, directly or indirectly, as, for instance, Colonel Cellaris, who modified the reports against members of the brotherhood received from his subordinates before sending them

on to the judges. One of the most exciting sittings was that in which General Mirri, Minister of War, refusing to avail himself of the privilege granted to members of the Cabinet to be interrogated at home, attended personally to give evidence in Milan. As the General was Royal Commissioner in Sicily during the last Crispi Cabinet in 1895, his statements were awaited with much anxiety, and proved to be of the greatest gravity.

General Mirri, an ancient Garibaldian officer, one of the celebrated "Thousand," was most courageous in revealing how the Mafia could and did exist through the support its members gave in political struggles, the corruption of the police, and the "negligence, indeed the connivance of justice." This connivance he strongly attacked, especially in the person of Commendatore Venturini, who was at that time Procurator-General, or Crown Prosecutor, of the island. For a few days after this General Mirri was the most popular man of the Cabinet, and the country began to cry out for justice and honesty. His star, however, waned when Comm. Venturini, to defend himself, published letters exchanged between him and the General when the latter was in Sicily. They were written at the time of the general election of 1895, in which Signor Crispi, then Premier, used all kinds of means to obtain an overwhelming majority in support, not only of his policy, but also of himself, against the attacks made on both his public and private life. The struggle in Sicily was more fierce than anywhere else, as Crispi was a Sicilian. General Mirri, in carrying out the in-

structions of the Government, had the imprudence to write to the Procurator-General the letters which the latter then made public. In one of them the General urges Comm. Venturini to cancel from the electoral lists a certain number of electors "who are against a certain personage" (Crispi). In another he insists on the release of a person of very bad reputation, a certain Saladino, who was in prison accused of murder, theft, and forgery, in order that, having great electoral influence in his constituency, he might ensure the success of the Government candidate, Signor Damiani, Crispi's staunchest supporter. General Mirri concluded his letter by saying, "Damiani must at any cost be victorious, as Damiani means Crispi." Signor Damiani was, in fact, elected, partly through the assistance of the relatives of Saladino, who was shortly afterwards unanimously acquitted by a jury. General Mirri resigned, and the confidence of the country in the Government of which he formed a part was severely shaken.

Besides the attempts made to redeem Naples by Spaventa, Nicotera, and other statesmen, the most energetic step in that direction was taken under the Saracco Ministry, when from all quarters the end of the Neapolitan scandals and corruption was insistently demanded. The Premier decided to get to the bottom of that powerful combination of forces which in the Queen of the Mediterranean have been conspiring so long against the public good. He therefore ordered a most exhaustive inquiry into all the public services there, and entrusted it to Senator Saredo, from Savona, near



Genoa, a student of law and an authority on legal matters. The mission was of the most difficult and thorny description, but he accomplished it courageously in a year's constant work, rewarded by the consciousness of having performed a necessary although ungrateful duty. He revealed the terribly rotten state of affairs in the largest Italian town, and in reading the two thousand pages of his report, in which all the corruption and dishonesty he discovered is set forth, one passes continually from a feeling of astonishment to one of repugnance and disgust, but at the same time of admiration for the man who continued unflinchingly, although confronted at each step by the intangible Camorra, led by its powerful chiefs, who tried to bar his way with every imaginable obstacle. It is impossible to give an idea of the disorder and confusion found in the offices of the city, where the archives even were lacking, and where a great quantity of precious official documents had disappeared—some stolen, some given away, and some sold. His report shows an uninterrupted series of favouritism in everything: from the electoral lists to the cleaning of the streets, from public records to public instruction, from the distribution of the water to the care of the municipal gardens, from the concession of public works to even the care of the cemeteries, nothing was left untouched. One constantly comes across city hall officials, a hundred times guilty and deserving dismissal, but a hundred times allowed to remain, receiving, instead of disgrace, prizes, gratuities, and promotions, while their number was enormously in excess of what

was required. This seems impossible to anyone who does not know the organization of the Camorra, how all those affiliated in this ring, which vividly recalls Tammany in New York, defend and assist each other, the lower adepts boasting of the impunity which they enjoy through the protection of their leaders, and the latter able, through the support of the former, to make large and dishonest gains out of the public funds. He found that in Naples all the contracts for the electric light, the trams, the sanitary arrangements, the hospitals, the benevolent institutions, the water-supply, and the slaughter-houses, to quote only the principal, could not be concluded without the intervention of the Camorra, who exacted extraordinary bribes, and the inquiries attempted by local authorities had always been frustrated by the intervention and pressure of the Camorra chiefs. The body of school teachers was altogether transformed into an electoral mechanism, and at the approach of the elections they were augmented in numbers, their salaries raised, and all their demands blandly approved. Public records were kept in such a state of confusion as to render easy the concealment of the real formation of families, either to escape the payment of taxes, to avoid military service, or, finally, for electoral purposes. For the latter a special book of records was kept, having as object the inclusion among the electors of thousands who had no right to vote, and the exclusion of many who had; in the list one finds thieves, bankrupts, forgers, swindlers, speculators, murderers, and even those no longer alive, the last, as is proved by the

Senator's report, having taken part in several elections since their death.

Senator Saredo had mercy neither on living nor dead nor regard for illustrious names. Among the latter the most compromised was the Duke di San Donato, one of the most popular men in Southern Italy. He belonged to a really noble and ancient Neapolitan family, and had added to the reputation he inherited from his ancestors by a daring life as a patriot. In 1847 he joined in the revolutionary movements against the Bourbons, which cost him prison and persecution ; he was one of the leaders of the insurrections and wars for independence, often risking his life and fortune and suffering exile in France and in England. Immediately after the liberation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860, he was elected Deputy of one of the constituencies of the city of Naples, which he represented for forty years until his death, and both Victor Emmanuel II and King Humbert, unaware of what the inquiry of Senator Saredo would bring to light, treated him as an intimate friend.

What the inquiry showed as having happened under San Donato, whom the Neapolitans simply called in their dialect "U'Ruca," "the Duke," when he was president of that province, is something that seems impossible. There are even sums of money down in the accounts, "subsidies distributed to the daughters of patriots," which were proved to have gone to prostitutes. All works of public utility were assigned to those who gave the largest bribes, and contracts, put at a low estimate at the beginning, rose to millions before being completed. For

instance, the lunatic asylum, the finances of which were most depleted, having had need of reparations, it was estimated that L. 680 would cover the cost, but L. 48,000 were paid out before they were finished, of which L. 47,200 was proved to have gone into the pocket of some one.

These were the big transactions, but small ones were not disdained, the most typical being bribes given to the editors of small local papers at Christmas, the insignificance of the sum augmenting the feeling of disgust with which one reads the report. Once a public dinner was given in the city which went into the accounts at L. 1000, which is not surprising when the items are considered, comprising, for instance, over L. 21 for rice, which in reality perhaps cost eight shillings, and other items to correspond.

Although the records of the different offices were in the utmost confusion, showing evident attempts to conceal all kinds of robberies, Senator Saredo succeeded in establishing that the budget of 1901, which closed with a declared deficit of L. 8373, had instead a surplus of L. 9267, that is, L. 17,640 unaccounted for.

Senator Saredo explained to a certain extent the abnormal and unlawful situation in Naples, by considering that all the virtues and defects of the Neapolitan character originate in a primary marked quality—the worship of exterior beauty. They confound beauty with goodness, so that “what satisfies their æsthetic sense satisfies their moral sense also, and makes them wish to enjoy more than to work, developing individualism in a predominant form.” These characteristics rendered possible up to fifty years ago a succession of the

most hateful tyrannies, and under the present régime of freedom have allowed a succession of local tyrannies, embodied in the Camorra. When, in 1860, after the epic conquest by Garibaldi of the Two Sicilies, Naples joined the rest of Italy, then, for want of instruction, of social and economical organization, and of political education, she needed a constant work of regeneration and assistance while passing from despotism to freedom. Instead of this, the city, without home-rule traditions or any material of which to form a local administration, and with citizens incapable, for lack of preparation, of taking the leadership in public affairs, could not fail, when left to herself, to fall into the net that centuries of degeneration had woven. However, those perverted are but a small minority, which has succeeded in gaining the predominance by taking advantage of an abnormal state of things, and there is no doubt that the large population of Naples, the salient characteristics of which are kind-heartedness, generosity, and extreme intelligence, will end by making their influence predominate, and will rid their country of the unhealthy elements which have so long made justice and honesty vain words. It must not for a moment be supposed that Naples and the South have not had judges exemplary for their integrity, desirous of impartially enforcing the law, and a great phalanx of noble, upright, disinterested men, such as Spaventa, Bonghi, Villari, and many, many others who have been examples of all that is best and noblest in national life.

In the face of so many grave misfortunes the south of Italy has shown a marvellous power of

recuperation. The terrible cholera epidemic of 1884 had the salutary effect of giving to Naples a magnificent water-supply, and bringing about what was called the "disembowelling" of the city, when whole districts, such as Chiaia, very characteristic but very filthy, were swept away, and at a cost of millions were replaced by the present modern quarters which are less picturesque but more sanitary. The ten years' tariff war with France had the most severe consequences for the southern provinces, but it led to their seeking and finding new markets and to a development of industries and manufactures which before were nonexistent. One of their most terrible curses is the want of water, as—what seems almost impossible—seventeen millions of the population of Italy, mostly in the South, are not provided with drinking water. This is due chiefly to the deafforestation of the land, which has brought drought in its train, especially felt in Apulia, where, however, a colossal work is in course of execution, costing the State over L. 5,200,000, to be finished, it is hoped, by 1916, and by which, through an aqueduct worthy of the ancient Romans, water will be supplied to those regions. In addition, re-afforestation is carried out on scientific principles and on a large scale, dry farming has been introduced, and a scheme has been started of constructing large reservoirs on the Apennines for the irrigation of the plains below. Now all points to a regeneration of the South, which, owing to the undoubtedly superior intelligence of its people, will astonish Italians and foreigners alike, and will be assisted to a great extent by its geographical position. The

prosperity of Egypt, the progress of Tunis and Algiers under France, the acquisition of Tripoli to modern civilization, will make the commerce and wealth of these provinces centre to the land whose people for centuries have been colonists and sailors, so that the return of the Mediterranean to her ancient prosperity will coincide with the revival of Southern Italy and the greater splendour of the Queen of the Mediterranean.

## CHAPTER IX

### ITALIAN PROGRESS IN FIGURES

Finances—Early difficulties and recent successes—Commerce and industry — Economic development — Agriculture — Health and hygiene—Population—Emigration—Public instruction—Army and Navy

FOR about a quarter of a century after Italian Unity was attained, the economic and financial situation of the country was so distressing as to give the impression that the heroic efforts and sacrifices made might be in vain, and that the edifice erected with such pains was tottering to its fall. That this view was not exaggerated is shown by the fact that then taxation amounted to nearly L. 90,000,000 yearly, corresponding to an average of about L. 3 for each inhabitant, while the Public Debt was L. 517,423,000, or L. 19 for each citizen, all this independently of the debts of the different cities, which went from L. 8,500,000 in Rome to a little less than L. 2,000,000 in Genoa, without counting the mortgages on private property, amounting to about L. 300,000,000. The gravity of the situation was illustrated by the forced sales of property by the Government for unpaid taxes, which increased from 9114 in 1891, to 15,728 in



1895, rendered more serious when it is realized that the majority were for taxes not over L. 2.

The private property of the country was then estimated at L. 2,160,000,000, so that every Italian paid about 4 per cent. of his income in taxes, while Frenchmen paid 1·87, and Englishmen, before the South African War, only 1·74. For the Army and Navy alone Italy paid then 5·14 of her income, a higher proportion than other military countries, as Spain paid then 4·96, Russia 4·43, Germany 4·28, and France 4·03. An idea of the financial deadlock in which the country found itself will be gathered from the fact that the heavy expenditure for wars and revolutions caused a series of deficits which were in their turn met by a succession of dangerous loans, increasing the Public Debt, which in fifteen years had quadrupled. The dividends to be paid on the State Consols had reached such a figure as to represent more than one-third of the whole expenditure of the Government, while the Army and Navy absorbed one-fourth. The deficit had risen to L. 24,000,000 when Baron Sonnino, Minister of the Treasury, making his financial statement before the Chamber in 1894, invoked the help of God "to save the country."

Italians, after having shown of what they were capable from a political and revolutionary standpoint, have astonished both friends and foes by their patience and endurance in consolidating the national edifice. The Italy who presents herself to-day to the eyes of Europe is quite different from the depressing picture drawn above. Of course her advance during the last thirty years cannot be

compared to that of other countries, such as Germany, England, and the United States during the same period, without taking into consideration the difference in condition at the starting-point. The disaster of Adowa abroad, and the earthquake in Sicily and Calabria, which Signor Luzzatti compared to the cost of a lost war, are examples of the difficulties which she has had to face, and the latter was covered in four years by the surplus in the budgets, and by augmenting by only one-fiftieth certain taxes, specially those on business affairs, which thus yield L. 720,000 more yearly. The economic and financial resurrection of Italy was possible through the faith of the people in their strength and future, together with the constant improvement in agriculture, industries, and commerce. In 1889 the revenue of the State Budget for the first time exceeded the expenditure by L. 603,763, which rose in the budget of 1901 to L. 1,649,378, and the surplus has continued ever since.

The present riches of Italy amount to over L. 3,000,000,000, producing almost L. 600,000,000 yearly, with an average income of L. 80 for each inhabitant, which is about double what it was fifty years ago; the value of industry and commerce has also nearly doubled, while that of real estate has quadrupled, and the income from the latter has risen to six times what it was. Mines which twenty years ago yielded a profit of L. 2,000,000 now give about L. 6,000,000; metal works in the same period have risen from L. 9,000,000 to nearly L. 15,000,000, and chemical industries have

tripled. The progress of Italian commerce is not less encouraging : the 57 steamers comprising her mercantile marine fifty years ago have become 650 ; in 1890 the tonnage of Italian merchant ships was 186,000, while now it surpasses 600,000 ; in 1890 the merchandise transported by Italian ships amounted to 5,000,000 tons, and that transported by foreign ships from Italian ports to 6,300,000 tons, while now they are respectively about 10,000,000 and 8,000,000, Genoa alone having a yearly traffic of over 7,000,000 tons of merchandise, loaded and unloaded, in her port, out of the nearly 100,000,000 tons of traffic in the whole of Italy.

When the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was taken by Garibaldi, there were only 77 miles of railways, or less than one mile for every 100,000 inhabitants. The 1125 miles of railways which existed in the Peninsula in 1860, the greater part being in Piedmont, have now become 10,625 miles, with the addition of 3125 miles of trams, either electric or steam, and 1900 miles of services by motors, while the ordinary roads have grown from 30,000 miles to 90,000. The telegraphic lines which were 5000 miles have now increased to 35,000, besides cables and wireless stations of the Marconi system, which put the Italian coasts in touch with all the stations in the Mediterranean, with those which Italy has in Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Erythrea, and Somaliland, and with those in Ireland and Canada. The development of the economic life of the country is shown by the postal service, which fifteen years ago brought in L. 640,000, while it now brings a sum approaching L. 5,000,000 ; the telegraphs from

L. 120,000 now yield nearly L. 1,000,000, and the telephones, which then did not exist, bring in L. 500,000.

It may be said that until after the unification of Italy there was no thorough financial organization in the Peninsula, while now it can be compared without disadvantage to that of any nation of Europe. The Banks of Italy, of Naples, and of Sicily, the three which are authorized by Government to issue notes, have a circulation of over L. 80,000,000, guaranteed by a reserve, chiefly gold, of L. 65,000,000, while in past times of financial depression the metallic reserve of these banks did not exceed 10 per cent. of the circulation, and the depreciation of the State currency went up to 16 per cent.

The commercial companies, Italian or foreign, which fifty years ago numbered less than 400, with a capital of L. 54,000,000, are now about 2300, with a capital of L. 185,000,000, besides enterprises whose capital not ascertained by law, is calculated at L. 40,000,000, and over 4500 co-operative societies in almost all fields, having a capital of about L. 16,000,000. One of Italy's greatest successes has been her rural banks and the credit for agriculturists, over which Clericals and Socialists have competed as to which party should work them better and to the greater advantage of the peasant class. The wealth of the country, besides being proved by the surplus which for fourteen years the State Budget has constantly shown, and by the example, unique among European nations, of the investment of about L. 4,000,000 in foreign State Consols, chiefly

English, and by the buying back of nearly all the Italian Consols held abroad, especially in France, which amounted to L. 40,000,000, is also demonstrated by the savings banks, which are an infallible index of the condition of the middle and lower classes. The non-governmental savings banks, fifty years ago, had a capital of about L. 30,000, which has now risen to L. 16,000,000 ; had deposits amounting to L. 6,000,000, which are now over L. 100,000,000, while the government postal savings banks have L. 70,000,000 of deposits, and there are L. 50,000 in the savings banks of local and co-operative institutions which, including other forms of thrift, makes a total of L. 260,000,000.

To sum up the situation, when Italy was first united the income of her State Budget was L. 19,200,000, while her expenses were L. 38,520,000, or rather more than double, while lately her income has been L. 92,160,000, with an expenditure of L. 88,640,000, which enabled her to accumulate the L. 20,000,000 with which it was possible to fight Turkey for the occupation of Tripoli, without imposing special taxes or having recourse to a loan.

Adding to the income of the State Budget the municipal and provincial imposts, the Italian taxpayer provides now every year for the working of the government of his country the round sum of L. 132,000,000. This flourishing state of affairs is the more remarkable when one considers that taxes have been gradually diminished, some, like the terrible Grist Tax, have been suppressed altogether, others have been reduced, as, for instance, that on land, which from L. 5,240,000 a year has decreased to

L. 3,280,000 ; the duty on wine and foodstuffs from L. 2,800,000 to L. 930,000.

A great industrial, commercial, and agricultural development has taken place during the last twenty years, and the use of water-power instead of coal has helped many enterprises which otherwise, notwithstanding the low rate of wages, would have been impossible. The Director-General of Commercial Affairs at the Italian Foreign Office published at the end of 1911 most interesting statistics, showing that Italian commerce, both in importation and exportation, had so increased in the twentieth century as to surpass proportionately the increase of any other country. Putting at 100 the imports and exports of each country in 1898, the Director-General calculated that at the end of 1910 that percentage had risen as follows :—

IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.	
Italy . . . .	243	United States . . .	226
Belgium . . . .	237	Italy . . . .	224
Germany . . . .	207	Germany . . . .	224
United States . . .	190	Belgium . . . .	204
England . . . .	162	England . . . .	165
France . . . .	152	France . . . .	161

Italy surpassed all other important countries, with the exception of the United States, which in exports only is 2 per cent. higher.

The gross production of agriculture which fifty years ago was L. 113,680,000, has now risen to over L. 280,000,000. When Italy was first united, the land uncultivated owing to marshes, malaria, etc., amounted to nearly three million acres, of which

nearly half has now been redeemed at a cost of about L. 10,000,000, over L. 8,000,000 more have been appropriated for the completion of this important work, and the produce of the soil has augmented to almost three times what it was then. Agricultural land has risen in value from L. 600,000,000 to L. 1,000,000,000, while the income from cattle has tripled, and in certain districts and in some years has even risen almost 100 per cent.

Chemical manure, which was practically unknown half a century ago in Italy, is now produced and consumed in the country to the value of over L. 2,000,000, while an equal amount is taken from abroad, and the importation of agricultural machinery has risen from L. 1,000,000 to L. 8,000,000, without counting that manufactured in the kingdom.

The wheat crop which thirty years ago yielded 115 million bushels, has now reached about 160 millions, and the 616 million gallons of wine of the same period are now about 900 millions.

The result of all this increase in riches and production is that the average Italian of to-day eats more bread, drinks more wine, and consumes more animal food, building up an organism more able to stamp out the pellagra in the mountains and malaria in the plains—two curses chiefly due to insufficient nourishment.

English tourists will undoubtedly remember the time when travelling in Italy the exchange was so high that they gained five shillings on every pound that they expended there, while financiers

cannot have forgotten that Italian Consols could be bought at 60, or 40 below par, with a net interest of 5 per cent., which, considering the capital invested, meant 8·33 per cent. Now not only is there no exchange on Italian money, but sometimes there is even a loss in turning pounds or francs into Italian lire ; and the Italian State Bonds, paying now only 3·50 and 3·75 per cent., rose respectively to 103·90 and 104·25, although during the war with Turkey they went down to 94.

Another index of the growth of Italian industries and commerce is given by the augmentation of coal taken mostly from Great Britain. While in 1882 this amounted to two million and a half tons, in 1908 it reached 9,006,212 tons, and during the war with Turkey it was 11,000,000, making Italy the best customer of England in this field, representing a cost of L. 12,000,000, besides nearly L. 4,000,000 for the transportation, which is almost entirely in English hands. Italy hopes to fulfil the prophecy of Cavour and substitute for the black the "white coal," meaning hydraulic power, which is already used to the extent of nearly 2,000,000 horse-power.

The progress made in some departments is astonishing. The percentage of manufactured goods is now nearly three times what it was twenty-five years ago, while silk, the importation of which, in 1890, surpassed the exportation, now exceeds the former by 500,000 lb., and is almost one quarter of the whole exportation of the country, Italy coming immediately after Japan in this trade, her production having become five times as much



as it was at the time of the taking of Rome. She supplies many of the well-known English firms with black silks from Como, umbrella silks, and brocades, which is the more remarkable considering the crisis in the silk industry through the cheap price of the products coming from China and Japan. Italy, who in 1860 produced 15,000 tons of silk, now produces 50,000; then, owing to the high price, the gain was L. 3,320,000, but now, notwithstanding competition and the reduced price, the gain has risen to L. 8,000,000, and the home production of cocoons being insufficient, Italy imports 18,500 tons yearly, and her exportation, which at the time of the Unification was L. 6,000,000 yearly, has now risen to L. 24,000,000.

The figures with regard to the cotton industry are even more striking, as they show that in the last thirty years the increase has been fifteen-fold, supplying not only the home market but foreign ones, chiefly the English, as many products sold as "English cotton goods" come from Italy, and Italy herself, in order to sell them abroad, as, for example, in Africa, must make them pass as English.

Hygienic and sanitary conditions have also very considerably improved, although much remains to be done in some parts of South Italy.

Before the Unification the death-rate was nearly 31 per thousand, while now it has been reduced to about 20 per thousand, so that it may be said that only by the amelioration in the public health Italy saves every year 385,000 human lives. The greatest progress has been during the last twenty-five years, as is proved by the diminu-

tion of mortality from infectious diseases: the average has decreased from 619 per thousand to about 250. Some figures would be almost incredible if they were not the result of accurate statistics. The deaths from smallpox, which numbered over 18,000 a year, are now reduced to about 500; those due to diphtheria from 25,683 to less than 6000; those from typhoid from 26,000 to 11,000; the two curses peculiar to Italy, malaria and pellagra, have also been to a great extent overcome, the deaths from the former, which numbered 16,000 a year, are now reduced to 3000, and from the latter from 3500 to a little over 1000, while tuberculosis has gone down from 2·13 per thousand to about 1·50, which includes a considerable number of foreigners.

Italy is one of the few countries in which no commune can legally be without a doctor, so much so that while the communes of the kingdom are a little over 8000, the municipal doctors amount to about 11,000. Much, however, has still to be done, chiefly in order to provide all regions of the Peninsula with drinking water, although in the last twenty-five years over three thousand aqueducts have been constructed, different communes have spent L. 40,000,000 in sanitary amelioration, and between communes and Government L. 12,000,000 have been spent to supply water. These improved conditions, together with the prolificness of the people, who marry in a proportion of nearly 9 per thousand yearly, having a birth-rate of over 33 per thousand, which is, however, 5 per thousand less than it was, has brought the population of Italy to

35,000,000, an increase of 10,000,000 in forty years, without taking into account the 10,000,000 who have emigrated, so that it is calculated that in a period of from ten to fifteen years it will have surpassed that of France, thus becoming again the first among the Latin countries with regard to population.

### EMIGRATION

Side by side with Italy's regular colonial expansion there is another, that of emigration, by which hundreds of thousands of her children pass annually from her shores to people whole tracts of country not her own, and to dedicate their strength and industry to performing in many lands, and especially in various parts of America, much of the hardest and least remunerative labour.

The earliest records of Italian emigration show that between 1876 and 1886 the annual average of emigrants was 135,000, between 1886 and 1900 the number was doubled, and from 1900 onwards it has reached an average of 600,000 persons; while in 1906, the highest year on record, the numbers were 787,977. During the first period over 68 per cent. of the emigrants came from the northern provinces of Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, and Venetia, but the growing prosperity and industrial development of North Italy has gradually changed all that, and they now number little more than a third of the total emigration of the country, many of them being only temporary emigrants for special seasons, while in the present day the southern emigration has risen in the provinces of Basilicata,

Calabria, and the Abruzzi to the enormous proportion of 305, 308, and 337 respectively for each 10,000 inhabitants. It is calculated that the temporary emigrants bring back a sum varying from £12 to £20 each, which, as they come from provinces where wages are very low, is a welcome assistance to the family budget; those who go to America, and other distant lands, bring back from £40 to £400, while it is estimated that the money sent by Italian emigrants to their families at home reaches the enormous yearly total of over £24,000,000. Signor Luzzatti, when Premier, in a speech delivered at the Chamber on March 10, 1911, went so far as to declare that without the contribution of these savings the conversion of the Italian Consols would not have been possible. As may be imagined, such a vast movement, both of money and labour, has a wide and far-reaching effect on the life of Southern Italy. The diminution of hands has considerably raised the standard of wages, obliging many of the smaller owners in the poorer provinces to sell their properties, which are eagerly bought up by the returning emigrants, who cultivate the land themselves, and, having learnt a higher standard of living abroad, generally build upon their newly acquired possession a decent house for themselves and their family, and invest the balance of their savings in cattle and agricultural implements, or set up industrial or commercial enterprises. From the more progressive countries in which they have lived the returned emigrants bring back improved ideas of hygiene, cleanliness, and education, while they have learnt the value of



# EMIGRATION

FROM THE PAINTING BY ANGIOLO TOMMASI IN THE MODERN ART GALLERY, ROME



political organization, and are more independent and unwilling to submit to the guidance of their parish priest. On the other hand, some who have lived in the great American cities a life of squalor and semi-starvation, return to their native villages with injured health and habits of drunkenness and gambling, or anarchist ideas to poison the minds of those who remained at home. A still more serious drawback to emigration is the injury that it does to family life, and the depopulation it has caused in some of the Southern provinces, such as the Basilicata and Calabria, where whole villages are to be found containing only old men, women and children, where all men capable of working are away, and the fields are uncultivated except for what can be done by those who remain behind. However, taken as a whole, it must be admitted that the advantages of emigration overbalance the drawbacks, having served to spur the people to new efforts, largely contributing to the decrease of illiteracy, and infusing aspirations for a higher intellectual, social, and economic environment.

#### PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

One of the most serious and pressing problems for any nation is the primary education of her people. Some idea of the greatness of the efforts which Italy has made for its solution may be gathered from the fact that the State Budget for Education has increased seven times over since the unity of the country, rising from L. 600,000 to L. 4,120,000, and that the census of 1872 showed

an average of illiterates for the whole kingdom of 68·8 per cent., and in some of the southern provinces and in the island of Sicily it reached the appalling percentage of 85 and 87. The census of 1901 saw the percentage lowered to 48·5 per cent. ; but while the more progressive provinces of the North, such as Piedmont, Lombardy, and Liguria had reduced their tale of illiterates to 17·7, 21·6 and 26·5 per cent. respectively, the Centre and South had made comparatively little progress ; even Tuscany was still above the average with over 50 per cent. of illiterates, while in Campobasso, Salerno, Calabria, and Sicily those who could neither read nor write were still over 70 per cent. of the population, and even that is exceeded in the country districts. Judging from statistics that have been obtained during the last ten years from conscripts and the marriage registers, the average of illiterates has been greatly decreased by the additional daily and evening elementary schools consequent on the new laws for Public Instruction of 1904 and 1906. Elementary schools are now twice as numerous as they were in 1871 ; and during the last seven years they have increased with a medium of 1300 schools a year ; but allowing for the rapid growth of the population and the number of children who do not pass through the lower classes as quickly as the Educational Department expects, nearly 50,000 more classes would be required in order to provide adequately for the children liable to instruction. In 1859 the fundamental principle was laid down of the gratuitous elementary instruction of the



people, but the whole cost of it had to be supplied by the communes, not only in proportion to the needs of their inhabitants, but in proportion to their revenue, and although no other arrangement was perhaps possible in the early days of the young kingdom, considering the enormous financial responsibilities and the pressing necessities of the new Government, it had the effect, on account of the poverty of many of the rural districts, of doing away in great measure with the general character of the enactment. In 1876 and 1886 the State began to come to the aid of those villages which were unable, out of their small resources, to furnish funds for a school, and in 1904 it was made obligatory for communes, however poor, to provide for elementary instruction, the State undertaking, in 1906, in some of the poorest districts of the South and of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, to establish an elementary rural school of the three first classes, if the children liable to attend it were at least forty in number, the commune being only obliged to supply the schoolroom. All, therefore, from the age of six to nine years, are obliged to attend the three first elementary classes, while in the larger communes those from nine to twelve years must also attend the fourth, fifth, and sixth standards. Children, however, who live more than one and a quarter miles distant from the school are not obliged to attend, and when it is realized that in some parts of the South of Italy, such as the Basilicata, there are hardly fifty inhabitants to the square mile, and in Sardinia only thirty-five, this allows many

to grow up without even the most elementary education. The law of 1904 insisted absolutely on the necessity of school attendance, permitting the municipality to charge their budget with a fund for the assistance of poor scholars, and in addition providing special payments for masters and mistresses who teach average pupils in evening schools.

For those who had no opportunities of education in their youth, or who for various reasons are prevented from taking advantage of the means provided nowadays, evening, holiday, and autumn schools have been instituted, of which there were nearly 4000 of an old type before 1907, 3000 schools of a newer type for the same purpose were created by the law of 1904, and 2300 more by that of 1906.

Although every municipality is obliged to give instruction in the first three elementary classes, the extreme poverty of many villages has given rise to what is known as the "single school," where all are joined together, the single teacher, usually a mistress, having to teach the boys in the morning, the girls in the afternoon, or sometimes the boys and girls are taught together. It is obvious that the benefit to the pupils of such schools, both as to teaching and discipline, is almost non-existent, and yet their number reaches 16,166, or over a quarter of the total primary schools, over 3500 of them containing more than seventy pupils, some of whom are taught in a school hardly sufficient to accommodate thirty!

The law of 1878 authorized the Government

to concede mortgages to the municipalities to enable them to erect school buildings, but the sum available was a comparatively small one, and it was not until 1900 and 1906 that money was granted on a sufficiently large scale, L. 1,000,000 being lent within eight years to the most necessitous communes at 2 per cent., or even when necessary at 1 per cent.; but that what has been done is but a drop in the ocean is proved by the fact that the law presented but not passed by the Sonnino Cabinet of 1910 proposed to devote L. 800,000 a year for twelve years to this need, extending the maximum time for the extinction of the mortgage to fifty years.

Unfortunately, there are not as yet a twentieth part of the school buildings necessary to house the children who should be taught, masters are wanting, and in the poorer villages there is no means of providing the money for either need. The state of some school buildings is almost incredibly unsatisfactory, and though this is specially true of the villages in the South and in the Islands, there are localities even in the comparatively progressive Centre and North of the Peninsula in which the conditions are deplorable. The Inspectors of the Education Department report that in many schools in the province of Chieti the children are obliged to stand all the time for want of space; at Mirabello Eclano, in Sicily, the schoolroom is often so full that the pupils are literally unable to move their arms, and therefore to work; at Oristano, in Sardinia, buildings capable of holding 30 or at most 40 pupils contain instead 90, 100, or even 130; in

Badia, in the division of Lanciano, the school was held in the garret of a church, and in order to reach it the children had to climb up a wooden ladder and pass over a broken floor. In Scidia, in Sardinia, the girls' school has not even a window, and is lighted by some holes in the roof, through which, in bad weather, the rain falls abundantly on the pupils. Schools are frequently used for other purposes : sometimes to house the municipal doctor, secretary, or policeman, sometimes even the municipal band, or travelling mountebanks—the latter probably greatly adding to the happiness of the children attending the school.

Professor Alessandro Lustig, of the Superior Institute of Florence, has made a patient and exhaustive inquiry into the state of the schools, and he reports that in the province of Sassari, in Sardinia, of 222 school buildings only 74 were used exclusively for the schools ; that in the province of Lucca, in Tuscany, of 198 school buildings only 20 had been built for the purpose, most were simply hired rooms ; while in the province of Grosseto, also in Tuscany, water was wanting in all the schools, as far as he could learn. The only town of which Professor Lustig could speak favourably was Turin, the capital of that Piedmont where, be it remembered, they have reduced their percentage of illiterates to 17·7, and where they have the largest number of schools in proportion to the population, 2·64 per cent.

The law of 1859 fixed the minimum salary of £48 for teachers of the first-class superior urban schools, and £32 a year for corresponding teachers

in the rural schools, while this stipend was reduced by a third for the mistresses, and by half for under-masters and mistresses. The salaries were slightly improved in 1886, and in 1904 the stipend in boys' urban schools of the first class, in communes where the population is over 80,000 inhabitants, rose to £60 a year, with £52 a year for the girls' school, and £44 and £34 a year in the rural schools, while the salary in rural schools of the third class is still but £30 a year for mistresses. With such munificent remuneration it is hardly to be wondered at that many schools remain for considerable periods without teachers.

#### ARMY AND NAVY

The Italian army of to-day has had as prototype that of Piedmont, which had centuries of glorious traditions behind it in the constant struggles in which the House of Savoy was involved. The sturdy mountaineers made good instructors and found excellent material in the recruits from all provinces of the kingdom. The conscription which makes military service obligatory for all citizens when they are of age has been another means for the amalgamation of the recently united regions, as the formation of the different regiments not being on a territorial basis, Venetians and Sicilians, Milanese and Neapolitans, Romans and Genoese find themselves thrown together in the closest companionship.

Until a few years ago the soldiers served three years in the infantry and five in cavalry, but under

the new Army Act this period has been reduced to eighteen months, except for those who during this time have not succeeded in becoming efficient, who have to serve six months more. All classes are equal with regard to conscription, the only exception being made for education, as those who pass a certain examination and can pay L.48 serve only one year. The force kept under arms is about 250,000 men, the others going into the reserve, which proved itself above praise when recalled for the war with Turkey in 1911-12. All Italians can be summoned under the colours until the age of forty, so that in case of war nearly a million and a half men can be mobilized although official statistics put the effective forces in time of war at nearly three millions and a half. Even in this Italy has done miracles, as her "Tommy Atkins" receives only one penny a day, which, however, rose to three halfpence during the war in Tripoli. Notwithstanding, Italy spends on her military service L.16,206,638 yearly, and, as facts have proved lately, she has managed to put together one of the most up-to-date armies in Europe, for the spirit of the men, the perfection in armaments, and the facility of mobilization. It is divided into twelve army corps, comprising 118 regiments of infantry, including Bersaglieri and Alpine troops, 29 regiments of cavalry, 38 regiments of field artillery, one regiment of horse artillery, 2 regiments of mountain artillery, 10 regiments of garrison artillery, 6 regiments of engineers, and 27,000 carabinieri or soldier police.

The Naval Estimates have also more than

doubled since the Unity of Italy, having risen from L. 3,400,000 a year to L. 7,680,000, but the position of the young kingdom, which at one time was the third maritime power of the world, has sunk to the sixth, owing to the enormous naval development of Germany, America, and Japan. The present fleet of Italy is the result of the union of the Sardinian and Neapolitan navies after the taking of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which, however, did not succeed in suddenly infusing in those two services, still retaining some of the feudal character of their mediaeval sailors a national and homogeneous spirit. The result of this was the defeat which Italy suffered at the hands of Austria on July 20, 1866, at Lissa, a small island not far from Ancona. Lissa was for the Navy what thirty years later Adowa was for the Army, and both disasters have had a salutary effect in tempering the fibre of the Italians and setting them to work seriously to build up an army and navy able to face any eventuality. At Lissa Italy had thirty ships of 77,000 tonnage, against seventeen Austrian ships of 57,000 tonnage, that is to say, Italy was 35 per cent. stronger than Austria but only three of her ships really entered into action, seven others barely assumed an attitude of defence, while the rest of the fleet remained passive. Admiral Saint-Bon was the first to undertake a thorough organization of the Navy, developing the views of Count Cavour, who had understood that the chief strength of Italy must be on the sea, and to him was due the foundation of the arsenal of Spezia, the great naval stronghold of the Peninsula. Saint-Bon nearly forty years ago conceived the idea

of a modern dreadnought, and built the colossal *Duilio* and *Dandolo*, which produced in the world of naval shipbuilding the same revolution as the *Meriman* at the time of the War of Secession and dreadnoughts in our days. His efforts, assisted by the engineering talents of Benedetto Brin, were crowned with remarkable success, and in the last forty years it may be said that almost every great change in naval construction originated in Italy. The *Inflexible*, *Admirable*, and fast protected cruiser types were all due to her, and the dreadnoughts, which are considered the apex of modern naval genius, were first conceived by Cuniberti, her famous naval constructor, while the practical adoption of oil fuel is also of Italian origin. The change which has taken place is proved by the fact that Italy began by having entire squadrons built abroad, so much so that one was called the "French," while at the battle of Lissa not one of her ships had been built in her own Navy yards, whereas now not only is the whole fleet produced by Italian hands and materials, but she has provided men-of-war for Spain, Greece, Turkey, Japan, and several South American Republics.

Italy at the beginning of 1912 possessed 18 first-class battleships, some of them, however, of a rather antiquated type, notwithstanding that they have been brought up to date from time to time, such as the *Dandolo*, *Italia*, *Lepanto*, and *Re Umberto*; but she possesses some exceptionally good units, such as the *Regina Elena*, *Vittorio Emanuele*, *Napoli*, *Roma*, *Pisa*, *Amalfi*, *San Marco*, and *San Giorgio*. The last ran on a rock in the Gulf of



Naples in August 1911, but was refloated after tremendous efforts and was splendidly repaired and refitted for use in eight months. The newest Italian ships are her four dreadnoughts of the *Dante Alighieri* type, and plans are now being made for several super-dreadnoughts. The smaller ships include 5 armoured cruisers of the first class, each about 7000 tonnage, 10 of a lesser tonnage, 11 of about 800 tonnage, 23 destroyers, 74 torpedo boats, 8 submarines, and 125 auxiliary ships, making a total of nearly 300 units, with about 600,000 tonnage and 25,000 crew. There are in course of construction 32 torpedo boats, 10 destroyers, 12 submarines, besides others of less important types. Some naval experts are of opinion that in the naval war of the future the auxiliaries will play such a prominent part as to be almost more valuable than battleships or destroyers, and Italy possesses, after England, the largest number of these ships.

## CHAPTER X

### ROYAL FAMILY

The House of Savoy—King Victor Emmanuel III and Queen Elena—King Victor's early education—His characteristics—Queen Elena's beauty and goodness—D'Alba's attempt on King Victor—The Queen-Mother—Her culture and charm—King Humbert—His courage and sympathy with his people in trouble—His murder at Monza—Other members of the Royal Family

THE House of Savoy, although the Carignano or cadet branch has only ruled over United Italy for fifty years, is by far the oldest reigning family in Europe. In comparison with these rugged mountaineers of the Alps, the Romanoffs, and even the Bourbons, are but a recent growth. Count Humbert of Savoy, "of the White Hand," entered middle European politics in the eleventh century under the patronage of the Emperor Conrad, and by the end of the fourteenth century the Alpine counts had greatly enlarged their dominions, and were ruling over the greater part of Piedmont and Savoy, while about 1392, Duke Amadeus VII secured a seaport by the possession of Nice, and during the succeeding years the rulers of the little buffer State of Savoy held their own as best they

could between the conflicting powers of France and Spain, strengthening themselves now by force of arms, now by diplomacy, now by intermarriage with their royal neighbours. In 1655, Victor Amadeus II, who had married a niece of Louis XIV, Maria Cristina of Bourbon, daughter of Henry IV of France, was compelled by his royal kinsman to persecute the Waldensians, and the massacres which followed, so common an incident in those days, have been commemorated to all time by Milton's magnificent sonnet which begins :

"Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold."

As his reward for important services rendered during the war of the Spanish Succession, Victor Amadeus II was made King of Sicily, which in 1720 was exchanged for Sardinia, a title held by the dynasty of Savoy until 1861, when Victor Emmanuel became King of Italy. His grandson is the present ruler of the young kingdom.

With no king and queen is the pomp and show of royalty so little in evidence as with the sovereigns of Italy. Frankly and deeply devoted to each other and to their family, they prefer a simple, unostentatious life, that leaves time for work and study, and for the direction of their children's education; both King and Queen have a profound conviction of the value of fresh air and sunshine, the little prince and the princesses from their babyhood having been accustomed to sunbaths after their morning toilet, while they spend long delicious months at the King's beautiful hunting-lodge

of Castel Porziano, on the seashore, where they run about barefoot and in the slightest attire, gaining, like the humblest of their subjects, health and strength for future years from a simple natural life. When the duties of State permit, the royal parents delight to motor down to visit their children there, in the peace and quiet of that beautiful coast, even in winter as bright and balmy as the French Riviera, and which, as the King says of his lonely island of Monte Cristo, where he and the Queen spend happy days shooting and climbing, is a "moral sanatorium."

King Victor Emmanuel is essentially a man of few words, his public speeches are rare, but they are always much to the point and are those of a man who has thought clearly and deeply on the subject on which he speaks, and when he discovers, by means of one of those surprise visits that the royal yacht or the royal love for motoring enable him to make, that his soldiers or his poorer subjects are not cared for as they should be, and that officials and those responsible are not alive to their duty, he is capable with a single sentence of making the delinquents realize his disapproval and indignation, and excuses and specious explanations are met with a silence that speaks more loudly than words. It is a tradition in the House of Savoy that where suffering and sorrow have stricken their people there is the place for the King to be, giving that personal supervision and human sympathy that does so much to console the sufferers, and to urge those whose duty it is to relieve them to further efforts. The great Victor Emmanuel thus began his reign over



KING VICTOR EMMANUEL



United Italy, coming in the terrible days of the Roman inundation of 1870 to the lately acquired Capital to sympathize with his new subjects. King Humbert followed his example, and whether it was a fire, or floods, or a railway smash, or the inhabitants of Naples maddened with terror fighting against the doctors and the sanitary arrangements that sought to save them from cholera, wherever calamity or misfortune overwhelmed the mind and body of his subjects, there was King Humbert to be found, restoring hope and courage by his sympathy, energy, and practical good sense. When, shortly after Victor Emmanuel III's ascension to the throne, a railway accident took place near Rome, at Castel Giubileo, the King and Queen left the royal palace at midnight so hurriedly that they took an ordinary cab that was waiting in the piazza, and, hastening to the scene of disaster, the Queen herself assisted the wounded and dying, while it was perhaps owing to the affectionate authority and sympathy of the King that the Deputy Massimini, who was pinned under the débris in imminent peril of his life, endured his agonizing position with fortitude, and was finally rescued. No one will have forgotten how, during the terrible days of January 1909, when the whole world stood aghast at the catastrophe that turned the beautiful southern coast into a desolate ruin, and the gay prosperous city of Messina into a cemetery, King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Elena were among the first upon the scene, realizing unspeakable horrors, enduring the sight of unforgettable scenes of death and agony, living with their people through

those days of terror and despair, entering into every detail and studying the best means of help, gaining an intimate knowledge that enabled them after their departure to pour into the stricken towns and villages a flood of competent, practical, well-considered assistance. Dressed in her white nurse's apron, the Queen with her own hands tended the crushed and wounded sufferers and restored them to sanity and endurance by her love and tenderness. Is it any wonder that from that day she has been enshrined as something more and higher than the embodiment of youth and beauty—the ideal of motherhood and charity. When the Queen returned to Rome, in those days of national mourning, Court balls and State functions were suppressed, and the halls of the Quirinal Palace were transformed into vast workrooms, where women, without distinction of rank or position, went day after day to help in preparing clothing and comforts for the shivering sufferers in the stricken South, the Queen herself the most energetic and competent cutter of them all, receiving those who came to combine plans for succour, and herself drawing the designs and making all arrangements for the village built at her expense on the outskirts of Messina, which bears her name, and which, with its church, its school, and its hospital (the latter formed of the wooden huts sent from America, and named after the American Ambassador, Mrs. Lloyd Griscom), is a model of practical organization and wise philanthropy.

The early life of Victor Emmanuel III was one long struggle against delicacy, and if he is now able



to live the same busy, strenuous life as his father, and still more his Herculean grandfather, it is owing to his own force of character, to the simple, regular, health-giving upbringing upon which his mother insisted in his early years, and to the Spartan training he received from Colonel Osio, to whom his education was entrusted when he was twelve years old. It would be difficult to imagine anyone more suited than this Piedmontese gentleman to form the hope of the Italian nation into a fine and manly character. Colonel Osio, though young, was a distinguished soldier, who had fought in the campaigns of 1859-60 and 1866, and followed the English expedition against King Theodore of Abyssinia. A cultured man, and a rigid, not to say alarming disciplinarian, his stern severity covered a noble and tender nature, which gained the love and esteem of his young pupil, who, shortly after he ascended the throne, made Colonel Osio a count, and, when his former governor died, sent a wreath with an inscription expressing his gratitude and friendship.

Most modern boys would think themselves badly used indeed if their life were as full of hard work and self-denial as that of the little Prince of Naples. He rose at six o'clock, winter and summer, and after a cold bath and slight breakfast began lessons punctually at seven, and if by chance he allowed himself a few extra minutes in bed, it was his breakfast that was postponed, not the cold bath. The rest of the day was divided up between lessons, outdoor exercises, such as riding, fencing, gymnastics, and the old Italian game "Pallone,"

a very severe and exhausting form of tennis, every hour being laid out on the most scientific and hygienic principles for the utmost development of the Prince, mentally and physically, and even the amusements which were conceded to him later on were usually of an instructive and educative character, among them being fortunately included the theatre. When confiding him to the teaching of Professor (now Senator) Morandi, who has written some records of these early days, Colonel Osio insisted that the Prince should be treated exactly like any other boy, and should be expected to wait upon his master and fetch his own books and writing materials, begging him to "exact from him firmly and always the strict fulfilment of all his duties"; and when schooldays came to an end, Colonel Osio wrote to General Pianell, who had shared in the task of education, that the Prince was prepared "to fight the battle of life in his special position with a resolved soul, a clear and precise conception of his duties, and an elevated comprehension of his difficult and important mission."

Royalties are exposed all their lives to the flattery and insincerities of courtiers, but there was no lack of frankness or criticism in the conversation of the redoubtable Colonel. Having on one occasion to reprove the Prince before Professor Morandi for some fault, he finished up with these trenchant words, "And remember that the son of a king, or the son of a cobbler, when he is an ass, *is* an ass!"

The Prince of Naples was subject to colds in the head, and one morning, when it was pouring

with rain, Professor Morandi suggested to Colonel Osio that perhaps it would be better if for once the Prince's morning ride were omitted. "And if there were a war, would the Prince not mount because he had a cold?" was the reply of the unrelenting Colonel, and the doctor, who was approaching and heard the conversation, ejaculated, "With these soldiers one cannot reason!" This diligent pupil was allowed only one day's holiday for Christmas and the New Year, and none at all for Easter, and though he was supposed to have three months' consecutive vacation in the summer, few days of absolute idleness were permitted, and even when he was travelling, going excursions, or bathing at the seaside, he was expected to write essays and diaries describing all he saw, which, as he somewhat pathetically observed, "poisoned all his amusements!"

This somewhat severe system has produced the man we see to-day, resolute, modest, and clever, whose strong quiet personality makes itself felt in every department of the national life, with wide culture, an unusually open mind, and a profound sense of duty. His character was almost unknown to the majority of his new subjects when, hastily recalled from a yachting tour by the news of his father's assassination, he ascended the throne of Italy. During those dark days when the reactionaries called for measures of coercion and reprisal against all extreme parties, Victor Emmanuel showed himself calm, determined, and well-balanced, and the democratic tone which the new King gave to the Government was such that so far, at any rate,

no distinctively Conservative Cabinet has been attempted during his reign, and when he decided on his first Ministry,—since the Italian Constitution allows considerable latitude of choice in that matter to the King,—he proclaimed, “My intention is to govern with the people for the people.” And when warned against encouraging the spread of Socialism he is reported to have replied, “I have no fear of it,—in fact, even a Socialist might belong to one of my Cabinets.”

King Victor’s influence has been consistently exercised in favour of energy and conscientiousness in the public services ; he is said to have insisted that taxation should be lowered, and has encouraged higher wages by tacitly permitting strikes which he thought just, and the result has been that while, when he came to the throne, Socialism was rife, and Anarchism a menace, the former has now to a great extent lost its power, and the latter is hardly ever heard of. He seems to personify that ideal ruler described by Crispi in his Republican days : “The King is only the head of the nation, the Prince chosen by the people ; with us there is no sovereign but the nation.”

King Victor Emmanuel, like his father, King Humbert, who defined music as “a noise,” has little taste for literature, art, or music ; his enthusiasm is for science, politics, military problems, and for his magnificent numismatic collection, the finest in the world, of which he has compiled an epoch-making catalogue, containing in the first volume a complete history of the splendid and varied Italian coinage from earliest times.

When it was hinted that the Prince of Naples would marry a daughter of the then Prince of Montenegro, the news was received with incredulity, as the mind of the public had been accustomed to think of a much more splendid match, but gradually a change took place, and the bride and her father became most popular. One must have lived many years in Italy to understand the feeling of the people, who have little enthusiasm for royalty in the abstract, and whose traditions have not given them "the loyal passion for their temperate kings," which is so deeply rooted in the British character. Queen Elena is the daughter of King Nicolas of Montenegro, the ruler of the handful of heroic mountaineers who have for so long defied the power of the Turkish Empire, and whom the Czar Alexander III called "his only friend in Europe." No Prince could more impress the democratic Italians than Zi' Nico', "Uncle Nick," as they affectionately called him, with his patriarchal habit of administering justice under the big tree in front of his house at Cetinje, or composing songs for his mountaineers, or writing articles for the *Voice of Czernagora*, or, bravest among the brave, leading a charge to defend his frontier against the Turks.

His daughter's early years were spent in the simple hardy life of her people, where she learnt to be practical, active, a fearless sportswoman, and a good shot. Educated in St. Petersburg, it was said that she was intended to be the bride of the young Czar, but in 1895, Princess Elena met the heir to the Italian throne in Venice, and he

announced that if he might not marry her he would marry no one.

Queen Elena showed her devotion to King Victor when d'Alba attempted his life. Her quick eye caught the movement of the would-be assassin as he drew the revolver from his pocket, and crying, "Take care, he is going to shoot," she clasped her husband in her arms in order to protect him with her own body.

The popularity the present King enjoys never appeared in such a striking manner as on the occasion of this deplorable incident, which fortunately had not the grave consequences it might have had. Every year, on the 14th of March, anniversary of King Humbert's birth, the sovereigns drive early in the morning to the Pantheon, where the first two rulers of United Italy are buried, to hear a Mass for the repose of the soul of the martyred King. On March 14, 1912, the royal cortège was passing through the Corso, the main thoroughfare of the Capital, when a young mason called d'Alba fired twice at the carriage where the King and Queen were, wounding the commander of the escort and one of the horses. The would-be assassin ran the risk of being lynched by the people, and the indignation which his attempt caused was so great in Rome and throughout Italy, that the demonstrations of loyalty to the King and his family were without precedent, and attracted in thousands to the royal palace citizens of all classes and of all principles, including Socialist deputies and even one Republican.

Queen Elena is tall and beautiful, with magni-



QUEEN ELENA





ficent black eyes ; but her most notable characteristics are her simple goodness and sincerity, and a passionate motherliness that makes her long to help and comfort all those who are weak and suffering in her husband's kingdom, and renders every child, however miserable, irresistible to her. She plays the violin and paints and has written poems in her native Servian. The task of making herself acceptable to the Italian nation was not an easy one, among other reasons because at first she was overshadowed by the popularity of her mother-in-law Queen Margherita, who has been the idol of her people for so long.

It was said by a distinguished diplomatist, who had seen the royalties of all lands, that he had never known one who so perfectly fulfilled her "*métier de reine*" as Margherita of Italy, and that merely to see her enter a room and respond to the salutations offered to her was an education in grace and courtesy ; but it is also true that if Margherita of Savoy had not been queen of a royal house, she would have been distinguished as one of the most cultured and intellectual women of her day. A gifted linguist, speaking four modern languages fluently, and intimately acquainted with their literature, she learnt Latin of Ruggiero Bonghi in order to enter sympathetically into the studies of her young son, and is deeply interested in Oriental literature and history. She is a brilliant and sympathetic conversationalist, meeting men of learning and letters upon their own ground, and delighting less erudite hearers by the charm and freshness of her remarks. A wide and

thorough education developed in her a deep and sincere love of knowledge, and her varied reading and the society of men distinguished in all kinds of culture has done the rest. She is also a true musician, with keen appreciation and discriminating taste, and the concerts of classical music given in the years before her widowhood by the Queen's celebrated "Court Quintet," which was presided over by Maestro Sgambati, were a musical treat not to be soon forgotten by the favoured hearers, while in the tragic days that followed King Humbert's murder it is said that the only thing that calmed her was music. Queen Margherita, though so interested in intellectual things, is also a great believer in the advantage of fresh air and exercise, unlike many Italian ladies, whose lives would be considered by English people terribly sedentary. In old days the Queen often rode and cycled in the vast grounds of her various villas, but her chief outdoor pleasure was climbing, and she spent months of every year among the Alps of Gressoney, where she stayed at the villa of the Baron de Peccoz, who accompanied her in many adventurous excursions and mountain climbs, when the Queen, dressed in peasant costume, with stout boots and alpenstock, made really serious ascents, and thoroughly enjoyed the arduous exercise and the adventures and contretemps that it brought her. Since her widowhood the Queen-Mother has become a fearless and enthusiastic motorist, and her shattered nerves seem to find solace and tranquillity in the rapid motion through the air, luxuriating in the independence and absence of

surveillance and etiquette which makes that sport pre-eminently the luxury of royalties. The Queen-Mother is a devoted Catholic, but, in consequence of the relations between the Church and State in Italy, she can never visit the Pope or assist at any of the great functions of her Church; her influence has been consistently, some say too frequently, exercised in favour of religion and of all things connected with matters ecclesiastical.

She is a true Lady Bountiful, and her charities, public and private, are on a vast scale. She has founded and endowed a number of philanthropic institutions, in the working of which she takes the warmest interest, and since her widowhood she has assigned a house near her own palace as an orphanage for one hundred little children, called the "Queen Margherita Home," visiting them almost every day.

It is reported that Victor Emmanuel II said of his son Humbert, then quite young, "I know Humbert, he is an excellent youth, he has good sense and a good heart, and he will do well," and the second King of United Italy is to a great extent summed up in these words. Unlike his father, he was not a great statesman, or quick to judge the character and value of those around him; he was not even a man of any exceptional ability, but he conscientiously strove to do his duty as a constitutional Monarch; he was a gallant, upright, honourable gentleman, and his simple, manly, warm-hearted nature made him respected and beloved by his people. King Humbert was a

keen soldier, and at Custoza in 1866 he showed all the reckless disregard of personal safety which characterized his race, being almost forced from the field by Nino Bixio, the Garibaldian hero, while his brother, Prince Amedeo, was wounded in his first action at Santa Croce. King Humbert was always deeply interested in his Army and its welfare, and his influence was perhaps more strongly felt on the foreign than the internal policy of his kingdom; he encouraged, or at least he had not the strength to oppose, Crispi's imperialistic dreams, for which the country was not yet ripe, and was in favour of Italy's alliance with the two great military powers of Central Europe.

His practical good sense and also his sense of honour was shown by the determined efforts which he made in the early days of his reign to grapple with the vast legacy of debt caused by Victor Emmanuel II's wildly extravagant generosity and charity. Although Parliament offered to provide the necessary funds, King Humbert refused, instituting instead sweeping economies, cutting down unnecessary expenditure in every direction, though he was always ready to relieve distress and help worthy objects.

When terrible inundations carried ruin and destruction to the Venetian provinces, and Verona was threatened by the waters of the Adige, King Humbert hurried to the spot, visiting the most dangerous places, comforting the injured, and encouraging the soldiers in their efforts to relieve. When Casamicciola, in the island of Ischia, was overwhelmed by a peculiarly violent earthquake,

King Humbert went there, exposing himself to danger and infection with an utter disregard of self, and when in 1884 one of the worst known outbreaks of cholera was driving the excitable and superstitious inhabitants of Naples mad with terror and suspicion, King Humbert received at the same time two telegrams, one asking him to preside at festivities to be held at the town of Pordenone, and the other reporting the frightful ravages of the dread malady. He replied, "At Pordenone they rejoice : at Naples they die. I go to Naples,"—and his presence and influence literally inspired fresh life to the despairing sufferers.

It does indeed seem the very irony of fate that the son of the Liberator of Italy, a man so brave and pitiful, so genuinely devoted to his people, should have fallen by the hand of an assassin, and that assassin an Italian !

It was on an occasion when King Humbert once again showed his sympathy with his people in joy as in sorrow, on the 29th of July 1900, when he had gone, while staying at his country seat at Monza, to preside over an exhibition of gymnastic sports given by a club of young men, that Bresci was able to do the dastardly deed. King Humbert always objected to being watched by the police, and on that occasion had mixed with the young gymnasts, shaking hands with all he met and expressing his congratulations. He had just entered the royal carriage to return to his villa, and was still surrounded by those who had attended the sports and were acclaiming him, when from among the crowd a man was able to approach the carriage

so closely as to permit him to fire point-blank at the King, who fell back on the cushions of the carriage, which was at once driven at full speed towards the villa. The murderer, when arrested and saved with the utmost difficulty by police and carabinieri from the fury of the people, confessed that he was an anarchist, native of Tuscany, but coming from Patterson, New Jersey, in the United States, where a strong anarchist club had chosen him for the regicide, sending him over to Italy for the purpose, where for two weeks he had practised shooting in order to be sure not to miss his object. Ever since the first attempt on her husband's life by Passanante, Queen Margherita's health had been undermined by the acute and constant anxiety that she had felt, and now her worst forebodings were justified as, hearing a confused sound of steps and voices, she rushed down the staircase of the palace to receive only the dead body of the King who so short a time before had left her full of life and cheerfulness.

The world stood aghast at such a base and meaningless crime, while from all classes of the Italian nation rose a passion of horror and indignation which obliterated party feeling and intensified national life, calling from the Republican philosopher, Giovanni Bovio, the dictum that "the crime of Bresci may have shortened King Humbert's reign by ten years; it has added perhaps two centuries to the Monarchy."

King Humbert's brother had three sons by his first wife, who, until the birth of the little Crown Prince were next in succession to the

throne. The second son, Prince Victor, Count of Turin, summed up the characteristics of himself and his brothers by saying: "Emmanuel (the Duke of Aosta) is the beauty of the family; Luigi, (the Duke of the Abruzzi), is the learned one; and I am the 'good fellow.'" Prince Emmanuel is chiefly interesting to English people as the husband of the beautiful Princess Hélène of Orleans, who spent her girlhood at Woodnorton in consequence of her father's exile. They have two sons, the little Princes Amedeo and Aimone, who had their early education at a school in England, as their mother's delicate health has obliged her for some time to spend the greater part of each year travelling in Africa.

Prince Victor, Count of Turin, commands a cavalry brigade, has travelled in India and Africa, and is a great lover of horses and of big game shooting. He fought a duel with Prince Henry of Orleans, after the battle of Adowa, in consequence of a letter from the latter reflecting on the honour and courage of the Italian officers in Africa. He is very fond of society, and very popular there; he is said to be an impassioned admirer of pretty ladies, and is also credited with being a confirmed bachelor, perhaps for the reason that matrimony would necessarily narrow the circle of his admiration.

Prince Luigi, Duke of the Abruzzi, the youngest of the Duke of Aosta's first family, was born in Madrid while his father, Prince Amedeo, was King of Spain. He is much less of a Society man than his brothers, and seems to have inherited a great

many of his gifted mother's intellectual qualities. He is enthusiastic for his profession as a sailor, and has also distinguished himself by his ascents of Mount Elia, in Alaska, of Ruwenzori, in Africa, and of one of the highest peaks of the Himalayas, and still more by his polar expedition in 1899 and 1900, when he approached nearer to the North Pole than Nansen, who until then had held the record, and during which he lost the tips of some of his fingers from frostbite. He was accompanied on all his expeditions by distinguished scientific men, and brought back observations and collections that are of real value. His projected marriage to a beautiful American girl, Miss Katherine Elkins, aroused the interest and sympathy of two continents, and the feminine world was divided into two camps, those who admired the democratic Duke for determining to marry where his affections led him, and those who thought that like should wed with like, and that in order to take kindly to the duties and etiquette of a royal position, one needs to be born in the purple. The marriage did not take place, it is believed through the opposition of the Court.

The handsome, well-ordered town of Turin, which was the Capital of the House of Savoy from the fifteenth century, and for six years, from 1859 till 1865, was the Capital of the new kingdom of Italy, has held since then miniature Courts in the residences of several ladies of the royal house. The Duchess of Genoa, Princess Elizabeth of Saxony, the mother of Queen Margherita, was left a widow at twenty-five years of age, and in those days



passed some of her time there. She was spoken of as a second wife for King Victor Emmanuel II, but in 1856 she married her gentleman-in-waiting, Marquis Rapallo, and Court circles knew her no more until the marriage of her only daughter, Margherita, in 1868, to Prince Humbert. For many years the Duchess of Genoa lived almost entirely at her beautiful villa at Stresa, on Lago Maggiore, and until her death at eighty-two years of age in 1912, she still came to stay with her daughter, the Queen-Mother, and assisted at the unveiling of the monument to King Victor Emmanuel, representing, with Queen Maria Pia of Portugal, the fourth generation of the royal family who joined in the celebrations of the Italian Unity in Rome in 1911.

Turin is now the residence of her son, Prince Thomas, Duke of Genoa, who is an Admiral in the Italian Navy, and whose wife, Princess Isabella of Bavaria, was in the past a keen sportswoman, riding, skating, and bicycling with great enthusiasm. In the Palazzo della Cisterna, in Turin, which belonged to the beautiful and cultured first wife of Prince Amedeo, Duke of Aosta, lives Princess Letitia, the daughter of Prince Jerome Napoleon, and of Princess Clothilde, whom the people called the "Saint of Moncalieri," the sister of King Humbert, whose marriage to Prince Jerome Napoleon was part of the price demanded by Napoleon III for his assistance to the Italian people in their struggle against Austria. Princess Letitia, then one of the most brilliant and beautiful women in Italy, married in 1888, two years before

his death, her uncle, the Duke of Aosta. She has only one son, Prince Humbert, Count of Salemi, who so far, unlike his half-brothers, has shown no enthusiasm for either a naval or military career. Princess Letitia inherited from both the House of Savoy and the Bonapartes a martial spirit, and would have made a brilliant officer had her sex permitted. As it was, she had perforce to content herself with being an impassioned sportswoman. For many years she has divided her time between Turin and Paris, where she has a brilliant circle.

Princess Clothilde died at Moncalieri on the 25th June 1911, and ten days later, Maria Pia, ex-Queen of Portugal, worn out by sorrow and grief, died at the Castle of Stupinigi in Piedmont, lent to her by her nephew, the King of Italy.

## CHAPTER XI

### CHURCH AND STATE

Difficult relations between Vatican and Quirinal—Taking of Rome, September 20, 1870—The Law of Guarantees—The Religious Orders Bill—The only possible *modus vivendi*—Conclave of Leo XIII—Diplomatic relations of Italy and the Vatican with foreign Powers—Anti-Italian feeling in Clerical France—English and American missions to the Vatican—Papal prohibition to Catholic princes to visit Rome

THE relations between the Church and State in Italy, and especially in Rome itself, are so strange and so seemingly impossible, that the fact that the civil and religious life of the country goes on notwithstanding, without insuperable difficulty, is a practical proof of the infinite capacity of human nature for compromise and accommodation.

In 1860, after numerous revolutions and uprisings, the States of the Church, with the exception of Rome and its immediate neighbourhood, became Italian territory, and even in that year Cavour, in the National Chamber, announced in the most solemn terms his country's claim to the "Eternal City, clothed in the accumulated renown of twenty-five centuries as the glorious Capital of the Kingdom of Italy." Cavour reminded his hearers that the popular feeling which inexorably demanded

the possession of the Metropolis was justified by the fact that "Rome combines all the historical, intellectual, and moral conditions necessary in the Capital of a great State." He believed that "liberty is highly favourable to the development of genuine religious feeling," and hoped to convince sincere Catholics that the Church's freedom would not be in the least prejudiced by amalgamating Rome with Italy, promising to the Pope the independence and liberty "which for three centuries you have vainly sought from the great Catholic Powers," through the medium of "a free Church in a free State." Had Cavour lived, perhaps his heroic persistence and genius for diplomacy might have carried to a successful issue the negotiations which he initiated with the Vatican for the delimitation of the spiritual and temporal powers, but he left no one among the patriots and politicians of Italy who could aspire to fill his place.

Until 1870, France and her Emperor stood between Italians and the realization of their ardent desire, the Temporal Power of the Pope was hedged about by French bayonets, and Romans had to submit to the humiliation of seeing their city occupied by foreign soldiers. After the withdrawal of the Imperial troops, in consequence of the Franco-German war, it became evident that Rome would be taken possession of either by Garibaldi and his followers or by the Italian Government; but Pope Pius IX believed that victorious Prussia would support the principle of Divine Right and restore the old order of things, thus making any occupation merely temporary.

Before the Italian soldiers crossed the papal frontier, Victor Emmanuel addressed to Pius IX a letter in which, joining the filial respect and devotion of a Catholic to the firm determination of a patriot King, he made known his intention to take that step which he declared was "an inevitable necessity alike for the safety of Italy and of the Holy See," and announced the imminent occupation of the city by his troops for the purpose of maintaining order and for the protection of the Pontiff himself. He assured the Pope of the inviolability of his spiritual authority, and the independence of the Papacy, and implored him to show a spirit of benevolence towards the national aspirations, but in vain. Pius IX, who had once for a short time been the hope of Italian Liberalism, could find no word of conciliation or compromise, and on the 20th of September 1870, the troops, under General Cadorna, opened a cannonade against the city. The Pontiff and his advisers had decided to offer only such resistance as would enable them to say that they yielded to force, and after a short fight the Italians entered through a breach about 100 feet wide in the old Aurelian walls, near the gate of Porta Pia, by that action completing the passionately desired unity of the country, and bringing to an end the Temporal Power of the popes which for over a thousand years had swayed Europe, and had been the greatest obstacle to the resurrection of Italy as an independent nation. General Cadorna, instructed by his Government, did not take possession of that part of Rome surrounding the Vatican which

is known as the Leonine City, but Count Arnim, the Prussian Minister, who represented the interests of the Vatican with the victors, expressed the desire of the Pope that the Italian troops should occupy the whole of Rome, since he feared reprisals from the people. General Cadorna answered that he would do so only if requested by General Kanzler, the commander of the Pontifical forces, and on the receipt of a note from the latter the Italian soldiers entered also the quarters around the Vatican, their commander, however, writing to the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, that he would withdraw if desired; but His Eminence expressed no such wish.

On Sunday, October 2, the Plebiscite took place by which the people of Rome almost un-animously expressed their determination to be joined to Italy "under the Government of King Victor Emmanuel and his descendants." All the protests made by the Pope and by Cardinal Antonelli to the Catholic and non-Catholic Powers in the hope of foreign intervention which would at least make the Roman Question international instead of national, were without result. Thus was initiated an absolutely unique position, in which two independent and adverse sovereigns live within the walls of the same city, with two Courts, two diplomatic bodies, two machineries of government, and two aristocracies, neither of which is officially supposed to have anything to do with the other, and which, in the early days of protest and rancour, were really as separate as though they lived a world apart.

Faithful to his promises, King Victor Emmanuel II did not wish to enter Rome before the Law of Guarantees defining the status of the Pope and the Holy See had been passed, but floods of unprecedented gravity caused so much damage to the city that the Sovereign decided to go at once to sympathize with the Romans in their sufferings, and he went to the Capital on the 31st of December 1870.

The Clericals, who had called the floods "the finger of God," meaning that they were a punishment to the people who had allowed the fall of the Temporal Power, realized that their effect was to bring the Monarch of the House of Savoy all the sooner, and to greatly increase his popularity among his new subjects, whom he called his children, saying that as a father he could not but share in their misfortunes.

The Law of Guarantees which regulates the prerogatives of the Pontiff and of the Holy See, and the relations between the State and the Church, approved in the Chamber by a majority of 79 over 291 voters, 200 deputies being absent, was published in May 1871, and pronounced the person of the Pontiff sacred and inviolable, attempts against him or incitement to commit such to be punished by the same penalties as though against the person of the King; freedom of discussion on religious matters was proclaimed; the Italian Government adjudged sovereign honours to the Pontiff, and acknowledged his right to employ the usual number of guards to protect his person and palaces; awarded him an annual income of L. 129,000 for his maintenance and that of the apostolic

palaces and for the various ecclesiastical needs of the Holy See, this representing exactly the appropriation existing in the budget of the Pontifical States for these purposes; assigned to him the palaces of the Vatican and the Lateran, together with the Papal Villa at Castel Gandolfo and their dependencies; undertook to assure the personal liberty of the cardinals during the vacancy of the pontificate, and the protection of Conclaves or Ecumenical Councils from any outside violence, from the unauthorized intrusion into the papal palaces of any agent of the public authorities; proclaimed the perfect liberty of the Pope in the exercise of his spiritual functions, and conceded to envoys sent to him by foreign Governments the usual diplomatic privileges; and permitted the establishment in the Vatican or any papal palace of private post and telegraphic services free of all tax or expense.

The Government also renounced the right to nominate or propose for the greater benefices; dissolved the bishops from taking an oath of allegiance to the King; abolished any form of governmental assent for the publication or execution of decrees of ecclesiastical authority; acts regarding the destination of ecclesiastical possessions and the filling of both major and minor benefices, with the exception of those of the city of Rome and the suburban sees, were made subject to the *exequatur* and *placet* of the King; and a future law was indicated for setting in order, preserving, and administering the ecclesiastical property of the kingdom.



The Law of Guarantees, while it indicates the spirit in which Italy pledges herself to treat the Pontiff, could not of course provide for all the endless points of detail which necessarily have arisen in the last forty-two years between two neighbours who are placed in such an anomalous and incongruous position with regard to each other, and which was only binding on one of the parties, since the Pope, in his encyclical of May 15, 1871, indignantly rejected it and called on the Powers of Europe to restore to him all that he had lost. After the first draft of 50,000 crowns, which was paid to Cardinal Antonelli for the expenses of the Papacy, the Pontiff refused the sum assigned to him by the Italian Government, preferring to be supported by the offerings of the faithful all over the world, and especially at that time in France; and the decision was a wise one, even from a financial point of view, since the "Peter's Pence" alone, as the contributions are called, are said to amount to about L. 100,000 a year.

The Italian Government, therefore, credits the Pope with the sum assigned to him, and he failing to draw the money, the accumulated amount reverts again to the State after five years by the law of prescription.

An important question which the new kingdom had to face was that of the Religious Orders, which include Benedictines, Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Jesuits, who, under the popes, had acquired great wealth and influence, extending beyond their religious prerogatives and invading the administrative, educational, philanthropic, and

political life of the country. The strongest feeling was against the Jesuits, on account of their activity in politics, and in 1872, 10,000 Roman Liberals signed an address demanding their expulsion. They had already been dissolved in Piedmont by a royal decree of August 25, 1848, which expelled the foreign members of the company, and obliged the natives to secularize themselves on pain of various punishments. When Farini was pro-Dictator of the provinces of Romagna, Umbria, and the Marches, he extended the decree to those regions, and the same thing was done by the Piedmontese Governor of Lombardy in 1859, who suppressed their houses and banished them, while the next year Garibaldi, after conquering the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, expelled all the Jesuits, without distinction of nationality. All these decrees were exceptional measures adapted to exceptional times, but afterwards, on the unification of the country, laws were made by the legislative powers, such as that of 1866, for the suppression of the Religious Orders in general, and that of 1873, extending the suppression to Rome, which abolished their legal corporate status and sequestered their property, using the funds so obtained chiefly for pensions in favour of the surviving monks, who, on account of their age and family conditions, had no other means of support; while the charitable institutions and schools managed by them were handed over to laymen, and their churches to the secular clergy. These laws allowed the survival of the General Houses of the Orders, since, having the direction of the

branch houses all over the world, they were considered outside the province of the Italian Government, which assigned L.16,000 a year to the Holy See for their maintenance, with the exception, however, of that of the Jesuits, which was not mentioned in the Bill. The Pope, protesting against these laws as interfering with his function as head of the Catholic Church, refused to accept the Government allowance, and the members of the Religious Orders, while dissolved as religious associations, still enjoyed all the privileges of Italian citizens, and were able promptly to reconstitute themselves under the same conditions as any lay Italian association. The Jesuits, whose head-quarters had been occupied as public offices, fearing that the omission to mention their General House among those which shared the allowance of L.16,000 might be interpreted by the Italian Courts as its suppression, transferred themselves to their monastery at Fiesole, where they remained quietly for about ten years, after which they had recourse to a stratagem to enable them to return to Rome. The German ecclesiastical college for students destined for the priesthood, whose scarlet robes have given them the nickname of the "little Cardinals," bought for their residence the Hôtel Costanzi, which was then the largest and most fashionable in the Eternal City, and invited the General of the Jesuits and his officials to come and live there as their guests. Therefore the General House of the dreaded Order has since then had its seat in Rome, under the shadow of the Protestant German Empire. There the Jesuit

provincials from all over the world gathered in September 1906 in a kind of conclave at the death of Father Martin, their last General, a Spaniard, and elected in his place a German, Father Wernz, so that in case of trouble, on the ex-Hôtel Costanzi, now housing the German seminarists and the General of the Jesuits, they might hoist the German flag and claim protection.

After having refused for over thirty years the allowance granted by the Italian Government, during the Giolitti Cabinet of 1906, the Generals of the Religious Orders came to the conclusion that there was no reason to deprive themselves of what was offered, especially as their acceptance would not in any way weaken the claim of the Papacy to vindicate its rights. Having obtained the authorization of the Pope, they entered into negotiations with the Minister of Justice and ended by accepting the payment of their assignment, including five years' arrears, amounting to over L. 80,000, paid to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, to whom is also paid the yearly income of L. 16,000, which he distributes without any interference on the part of the Italian Government, so that in reality the General of the Jesuits may very probably receive his share of the allotted sum.

In 1874, Pius IX pronounced the Greater Excommunication against the law for the suppression of the Religious Corporations and against all those who approved of it or assisted in its execution, or who bought ecclesiastical property; but notwithstanding this, many of the "Black" party, as the Clericals are called, including the Pope's almoner

and adviser, Mgr. de Merode, and many great Roman families, such as the Grazioli and Lovatelli, bought the lands and houses of the dispossessed Orders, salving their conscience with a document bearing the papal arms, to be obtained from the Congregation of Regular Bishops, which freed from all sin those buying property from the "Piedmontese" Government, if they promised to resell it at cost price to the pontifical Government *when restored*.

As was inevitable, Church and State continued towards each other a system of reciprocal pin-pricks in important as well as in insignificant matters. They settled down to the new order of things, which those on either side who were favourable to a conciliation said must sooner or later lead to a *modus vivendi*, but which in reality constituted and constitutes the only possible *modus vivendi* between the two Powers, since, however great the goodwill on either side, no basis exists for reconciliation that does not sacrifice the fundamental principles of one or the other of the contending parties, and consequently the Vatican has persisted in its attitude of protest and intransigence, answering every approach from the Quirinal side by repeating Pius IX's famous "*non possumus*."

On the 23rd of January 1871 the Crown Prince Humbert and his popular wife, Princess Margherita, established themselves definitely at the Quirinal, that apostolic palace the keys of which the papal authorities had refused to consign, so that the door had to be broken open when it was taken possession of. They were received with enthusiastic mani-

festations of loyalty and devotion, he having been appointed Commander of the Army Corps which has its headquarters in Rome. The next day Cardinal Antonelli issued another protest to the Powers, in which he said that "Prince Humbert of Savoy and his wife" had installed themselves in the apartment of the Holy Father at the Quirinal Palace, and declared that their reception was far from festive, "with the exception of a handful of the populace, who applauded the newcomers." The private chaplain of the royal couple, Canon Anzino, had been allowed to remain in their household, but was forbidden to officiate in the chapel of the Quirinal under penalty of being suspended *a divinis*. The Prince and Princess went, therefore, at first to hear Mass in the Church of Santa Agnese, in Piazza Navona, which belongs to the Doria family, and later in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, where a petty incident occurred which illustrates the feeling of the time. The head sacristan put red cushions for the use of the royalties, but was reproved and forbidden thus to acknowledge the sovereignty of the House of Savoy, and after that, every Sunday a footman from the Quirinal went beforehand to the church carrying the cushions on which Prince Humbert and Princess Margherita were to kneel, and this went on until the small church of the Sudario belonging to Piedmont was restored and became the royal chapel.

Meanwhile, new protests from the Papacy occurred through the application to Rome of the law forbidding the Religious Orders to own

property, and by the consequent occupation of their buildings as public offices, their value being credited to the Public Worship Fund administered by the Government for the payment of parish priests, the expenses of poor churches, and the restoration of religious buildings. Thus the Dominican Monastery of the Minerva became first the Ministry of Finance and then that of Public Instruction; the Monastery of the Augustinians, the Naval Office; the Convent of the Virgins, the Treasury Department; the Monastery of the Filippines, the Law Courts; and the Monastery of San Silvestro, first the Home Office and then the Ministry of Public Works and the Post Office.

On the 16th of June 1871, Pius IX allowed the Catholics to celebrate his Jubilee, and King Victor Emmanuel, evidently with a lingering hope that he might perhaps re-establish the traditional relations of devotion to the Papacy which had distinguished in the past the House of Savoy, which had even given a saint to the Church, sent General Bertolé Viale as his representative to offer royal congratulations to the Pope.

The General was received by Cardinal Antonelli, to whom the request for a papal audience was presented; but the answer was that the Holy Father could not receive the envoy of the King, being too fatigued. This was the last advance towards resuming personal relations between the sovereign of United Italy and the occupant of the Chair of St. Peter. Attempts were made on several occasions at conciliation, Crispi perhaps coming nearer than anyone else to success; a

gold chalice was even prepared for King Humbert to present to Leo XIII for his Sacerdotal Jubilee, but Crispi, like all others, failed.

Victor Emmanuel made his triumphal and official entry into Rome on July 2, 1871, and he perhaps intended to answer the refusal of the Pope to receive General Bertolé Viale, when to the Mayors of Turin, Florence, and Rome, the three successive Capitals that had crowned Italy's *Via Crucis* on the road to Unity, he said, "We are in Rome, and here we shall remain," which has become one of the famous mottoes that attest the solidity of the unification of the nation. Rome proved to be wonderfully adapted to the new fortunes. The *Caput Mundi*, the population of which in its days of greatest splendour had reached three millions, and which in its period of greatest depression had sunk to 30,000, had in 1870 about 220,000 inhabitants, of whom scarcely two-thirds were real Romans. This population in less than half a century has nearly trebled, so that now the Metropolis of Italy contains nearly as many Piedmontese and Neapolitans, Venetians and Sicilians, as Romans, and the natives of the different regions of the Peninsula, cast into the crucible of the Eternal City, with its glorious memories and great hopes, lose little by little provincial prejudices and peculiarities and are amalgamated into the modern Italian.

The Conclave which in 1878 raised Cardinal Pecci to the Chair of St. Peter, is perhaps one of the most memorable in history. The first to be held in Rome after it had become the Capital of





POPE LEO XIII



the new kingdom, it was one of the most independent and free from all taint of intrigue on record, and once for all demonstrated to the world that Italy was both able and willing to guarantee to the Princes of the Church a freedom and tranquillity that was the best possible atmosphere for the exercise of their spiritual functions.

At the first Congregation of Cardinals held on February 8, thirty-eight members of the Sacred College were present. The rules issued by Pius IX in June 1877 regarding the place where the Conclave should be held were read. The Sacred College was left free to choose the safest and most tranquil place for the election of the new Pontiff. The Cardinals Monaco La Valetta, and Simeoni announced that they had letters from Pius IX in which he authorized them to elect a pope outside the Vatican and even outside Rome. After considerable discussion a vote was taken as to whether to hold the Conclave in Italy or no; only eight cardinals were in favour of remaining in Rome, and none of them were of great importance, with the exception of Cardinal Hohenlohe, who was reported to vote thus in accordance with instructions from Bismarck. Cardinal Pecci, the future Pope, delivered a long speech in favour of leaving, and the English cardinals, Howard and Manning, voted for departure, the latter, however, adding that he could give no assurance as to the attitude of England, and that the Governor of Malta, one of the localities suggested, might even refuse to receive the members of the Sacred College. The next day Cardinal di Pietro said that after the vote

of the day before it was for the Sacred College to decide in which place outside Rome the Conclave should be held, but added that although in the former vote he had agreed to act as the majority desired, his own opinion was that it would be better to remain in Rome on account of the serious difficulties in leaving, and the much more serious difficulties in returning. A report circulated that Cardinal di Pietro, who on former occasions had had relations with the Ministers of the King, had already tested the ground as to the attitude of the Italian Government. It became known that Signor Crispi, the Minister of the Interior, in his decisive manner, had declared that he would ensure all protection and safety to the members of the Sacred College to the Italian frontier, treating them as Princes of the Blood; but he would guarantee nothing as to their return, and on their departure the Vatican would be at once occupied by Government officials. Such words from such a man to people acquainted with the Italian proverb that "to a good hearer few words are needed," meant that while ready to observe the Italian law guaranteeing the safety of the Papal Court while in the Vatican or anywhere else within Italian territory, Crispi would have been only too glad to be rid of them all and thus definitely solve the Roman Question by preventing the Holy See from again installing itself in Rome. The cardinals understood, remembering another Italian proverb that recommends you to "give a flying enemy a golden bridge," and remained where they were.

The next day, although various cardinals still persisted in their desire to go to Spain, Malta, or Monaco, when the votes were taken, thirty-two were in favour of remaining and only five were for departure.

The situation of the Vatican and the Quirinal has always had a most characteristic and interesting side with regard to their respective diplomatic relations with foreign countries. The Pope being acknowledged by Italy herself as an independent Sovereign, other nations maintain Ambassadors and Ministers accredited to the Holy See, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon world, as neither England nor the United States has a diplomatic representative to the Vatican. Indeed, an anomalous condition was created by the fact that certain Governments, either in doubt as to the permanence of the new situation, or for reasons of economy, sent to the King of Italy a representative of an inferior grade to that accredited to the Pope.

The gravest troubles after 1870 were with the Clericals of France. The Republic had maintained their Ambassador to the Vatican, that same Marquis d'Harcourt who was afterwards transferred to London, and for some time France was simply represented at the Court of the King of Italy by a Secretary of Legation. Marquis Visconti-Venosta succeeded in having a Minister appointed in the person of M. Fournier, but M. Thiers for the moment could not concede more, as the French Catholics were conducting an energetic campaign in favour of the Vatican, 100,000 of them having presented a petition asking the interference of the

Government in the Roman Question. It was only later that France raised its diplomatic mission to the King of Italy to an embassy, thus having two ambassadors until that to the Pope was recalled at the time of the Franco-Vatican rupture, which preceded the visit of President Loubet to the Quirinal. Austria and Spain have always had ambassadors both to the Vatican and to the Quirinal, but certainly by chance, and not intentionally, their representatives to the Holy See seem to enjoy a higher standing, perhaps because they live in the historic Palazzo Venezia and Palazzo di Spagna, which belong to those two countries, while the ambassadors to the King have to content themselves with a hired apartment.

As to Portugal, as long as it was a kingdom the embassy to the Holy See was maintained, and only a Legation to the Italian Government was established, this disparity remaining unchanged even though Maria Pia, a daughter of the great Victor Emmanuel, was Queen of Portugal, and it continued until the revolution of 1910 dethroned the House of Braganza, and the new régime did not replace their Ambassador to the Vatican. All the other Catholic nations have a Legation for the transaction of their affairs with the Vatican, but what is remarkable is that even some non-Catholic countries have a Minister, as, for example, Prussia and Russia, while Holland had a Minister until the beginning of this century, when, on the occasion of the first Peace Conference at The Hague, the Dutch Foreign Minister did not extend an invitation to the Papacy. It is interesting to recall that

Russia once before had two diplomatic envoys in Rome, as at the time of the French Revolution, one was accredited to the Pope and the other, strange as it appears now, to the House of Savoy, which, having been dispossessed of their lands by the French, had taken refuge in the Eternal City.

England, who is only officially represented in Rome by her Ambassador to the Quirinal, has occasionally sent special envoys or missions to the Vatican, the most notable of which were those of Sir George Errington, from 1882 to 1885, and of Sir John Lintorn Simmons, in 1889.

Leo XIII greatly desired to restore diplomatic relations with those European Governments which had no representative at his Court, though in the case of England, her Roman Catholic Hierarchy, led by Cardinal Manning, considered that the Roman Church there was more independent without an official standing. Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, who knew the Pope's wishes in the matter, tried to take advantage of the position to gain the powerful influence of Leo XIII on the side of the British Government in the struggle, then at its most acute stage, with the Nationalist and revolutionary elements in Ireland, and he sent Sir George Errington, the nephew of a well-known Catholic bishop, to Rome as an unofficial envoy. During the three years that the mission lasted Leo XIII did his best to discourage the revolutionary agitation in Ireland, but eventually both the British Government and the Vatican found themselves disillusioned, the former because the Irish, however willing to submit to the Head of their

Church in religious matters, refused to follow his directions in political affairs; and the latter because the desired Ambassador was never installed, and because he learnt from an indiscreet letter of Sir George Errington's, of which the Irish Party obtained possession, and which they published, that he was "humouring the Vatican." Shortly after this the English envoy left the Eternal City. An important mission with a more official character was that of Sir John Lintorn Simmons, which among other questions established the laws of the Council of Trent regulating marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics.

The United States, while not having a representative to the Vatican, have also sent special envoys to the Pope, notably the mission in 1902 of the then Governor Taft, to regulate the religious question in the Philippines, after the Archipelago passed from Spain to America.

Never has the Italian Government either openly or in any indirect manner interfered with the relations of the Vatican with foreign countries; never has it made the slightest effort to change the diplomatic missions of those countries which gave a higher rank to their representative to the Holy See, desiring to demonstrate to the world in a practical manner their loyalty to the concessions granted to the Papacy and to the rule of non-interference in Vatican affairs, even when such action might have been to their advantage. The firm decision of the Papacy that one of the many forms of protest against the loss of the Temporal Power and the position of the Pope in Rome should



be that of forbidding Catholic royalties under penalty of excommunication to come to Rome as guests of the House of Savoy has done much to keep Italy and Austria apart, notwithstanding their alliance. However, Austria was in reality the first Catholic Power to countervene that prohibition by sending to Rome in 1878 Archduke Ranieri, who was nearly related to both reigning families, to the funeral of the great Victor Emmanuel. The Vatican was much annoyed, and renewed its protest and prohibition, but its fear augmented when, at the end of 1881 and the beginning of 1882, discussions began between Rome and Vienna about the return in the Eternal City by the Emperor Francis Joseph of the visit that the Italian sovereigns had paid at the Hofburg. Leo XIII felt that it was necessary to use the utmost energy to prevent a step which, besides being a defeat of the Vatican policy, would have made it impossible to maintain the prohibition to other Catholic rulers. Considering that his own personal decision on so grave a matter needed the support of the highest body of the Church, he held a secret consistory, in which he expounded to the Cardinals the situation, and they agreed that the Pope should write an autograph letter to the Emperor of Austria, which was outlined in the consistory itself, to represent to him what an insult to the Catholic Church would be his presence in Rome as the guest of the "usurper King."

The first Catholic ruler who openly disobeyed the Pope's prohibition was Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who had expected from Leo XIII what no Pope could ever have granted, that is, the per-

mission that his son and heir, Prince Boris, should be brought up in the Orthodox instead of the Roman Church. Naturally the Pontiff not only refused, but rebuked the Prince for his intention. The change of religion of the then baby Prince took place all the same, and Prince Ferdinand, to further show his dissatisfaction at the way his proposal had been received by the Vatican, officially visited the King of Italy, being his guest in Rome.

Besides the Emperor of Austria, another Sovereign who was prevented by the Vatican from visiting the Quirinal was King Carlos of Portugal, and this acquired a special significance from the fact that he was a brother-in-law of King Humbert, his wife, Queen Maria Pia, being a daughter of Victor Emmanuel II. He actually started from Lisbon, but he did not go farther than Paris, being informed there that if he continued his journey the clericals in Portugal were prepared to join the Republicans in overthrowing his monarchy. King Humbert was so indignant at the weakness of his brother-in-law that he recalled the Italian Minister from Lisbon, and diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken for several years. The most important visit of a Catholic ruler to the Italian King in Rome in disregard of the Papal wishes was that of President Loubet in April 1904, which was the consequence of a double situation, the rupture of relations between the Vatican and France and the rapprochement between the Republic and the young kingdom. The protest of the Vatican was most emphatic, and a fresh

incident with France was caused through the note destined for the Prince of Monaco having been communicated to the editor of the Socialist paper, *L'Humanité*, in which it was published. Pius IX was bitterly attacked, as the Italians expected to find in him a more conciliatory Pontiff, and still greater violence was shown towards his Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val, who, being a foreigner, was supposed to have been mainly responsible for the anti-Italian document. Later, however, evidence proved that it had not been compiled either by Pius X or by Cardinal Merry del Val, but that they had adopted a text prepared by Cardinal Rampolla before the death of Leo XIII, when the possibility of a visit of the President of the French Republic to Rome had been mooted.

Yet another Catholic prince who disregarded the prohibition of the Holy See was the Prince of Monaco, who, however, found a middle course by saying that he was not coming as a prince but as a scientist, to deliver a lecture on oceanography before the Royal Geographical Society. He should have come in March 1908, but having fallen ill, the visit was postponed to the next year, and the majority believed that it was a diplomatic indisposition, as the Vatican had notified the representative of Monaco in Rome that it could only regard the visit of the Prince as that of a Catholic ruler, and protest against it. The Prince, however, went as he had arranged, delivered his lecture before the Italian sovereigns, and a dinner in his honour was given at the Quirinal. His attitude on this occasion

caused much comment, as many remembered that he, grateful to the Holy See for the annulment of his first marriage with Lady Mary Douglas-Hamilton, had put his yacht at the disposal of the Pope in case he should wish to flee from Rome, even offering him hospitality in his Principality.

## CHAPTER XII

### CHURCH AND STATE

The political pontificate of Leo XIII—Efforts to make the Papacy a power among the nations—Final anti-Italian policy—Suggested flight of the Pope—Visits of foreign sovereigns—Negotiations with Bismarck—Attempted conciliation with Italy—Galimberti's mission to Bismarck—Emperor William's visit to the Vatican—Leo XIII a Liberal Pope—Conclave of Pius X—The Austrian veto of Cardinal Rampolla—Relations of Pius X with Italy—Pius X and Modernism

LEO XIII's long pontificate had undoubtedly politics as its supreme object, and certain successes were attained in this field, although the great aim of the Holy See, that of having the Roman Question reopened by foreign intervention, was never reached. In his determination to make the Papacy again a Power among the Powers, Leo XIII was sometimes accused of being regardless of the feelings of the Catholics who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty and sufferings for the Church. Thus it was said that to put an end to the Kulturkampf and restore diplomatic relations with Prussia he sacrificed the German Centre and forced Windthorst to capitulate before Bismarck; to encourage in the French Republic the *ralliement* which in his mind should

have bound that country to the Papacy, he abandoned the French legitimists; in 1895, he obtained the re-establishment of the Russian Legation, to the detriment of the Polish Catholics; advising the Irish bishops to moderate the anti-English attitude of their flocks, he obtained a more friendly attitude from the British Government; he helped Austria in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania against the aspirations of the Latin Catholics; he abandoned the Carlists in Spain and supported the new Bourbon dynasty, thus rendering possible the return of a Nuncio to Madrid, a post which had been vacant since 1868, when Queen Isabella fled; he even negotiated for the establishment of a Nunciature in Peking and a Chinese Minister at the Vatican, but this last plan was defeated by France, who did not wish to lose the power she gained by being the protector of Catholic interests in the Far East. The greatest ambition of Leo XIII was that of restoring to the Holy See its ancient position of being a supreme tribunal before which nations and potentates should bring their differences. One of the greatest satisfactions of his pontificate was being chosen by Germany and Spain in 1885 as arbiter of the dispute over the Carolines, not realizing that it was simply an able move on the part of the Iron Chancellor, who needed, more than he was willing to confess, the assistance of the Vatican in bending the Catholic Centre to his wishes. In 1892, Leo XIII was arbiter between Portugal and Belgium, and in 1895 between Haiti and San Domingo, but what he specially desired was to be chosen as mediator and arbiter between

Germany and France in the problem of Alsace-Lorraine, to restore friendly relations between the two countries, hoping to gain in return the re-establishment of the Temporal Power. Leo XIII even tried a policy of conciliation with Italy, especially shortly after his advent to the pontificate, but France threatened to break the Concordat and inaugurate a policy of separation from Rome if the support of the Vatican were given to the anti-French Italy of that day.

The Pope ended, however, by committing himself to a strongly anti-Italian policy, being gradually led to this by several events, the principal of which were the riots that occurred in 1881, on the occasion of the transportation of the body of Pius IX from St. Peter's to St. Lawrence Outside the Walls, when the hearse containing the remains of the last Pope-King were almost thrown into the Tiber; the solemn erection in 1889 of a monument to the monk Giordano Bruno on the very spot in the Piazza Campo dei Fiori where the Papacy had burnt him at the stake as a heretic; and when the Holy See, after having been invited by the Czar, was through Italy's opposition excluded from the first Peace Conference at The Hague. When the first two incidents occurred, the feeling at the Vatican was so strong that it was even suggested that the Pope should leave Rome, and the rules drawn up in 1881 by a special Committee of Cardinals for guidance during a possible flight from the Eternal City are still in existence. On both occasions, however, the idea of leaving was abandoned, the Pontiff limiting himself to indignant

protests. After the erection of the monument to Giordano Bruno he held a consistory, in which he delivered a violent allocution, saying that since the enemy of the Church had become so audacious, "even the life of the Head of the Church is no longer safe." What had seemed a transitory and indecisive period in the first part of the pontificate of Leo XIII was perhaps due to the changes of his Secretaries of State, the first, Cardinal Franchi, dying after a few months, the second, Cardinal Nina, being removed from his position shortly after the rupture with Belgium, and the third, Cardinal Jacobini, having vacillated between the desire to seek for the Holy See the protection of the Central Empires, and the tendency which saw the only safety for the Church and the Pontiff in identifying themselves with "the Elder Daughter," France.

Cardinal Rampolla, who became Secretary in 1887, emphasized this latter policy.

There is no doubt that, notwithstanding the oath which each Cardinal takes on his elevation to the Purple, substantially repeated by the Pope in assuming the Tiara, to defend and vindicate the temporal rights of the Church, in the last half-century the policy of the Vatican has varied according to circumstances.

One of the last acts of Pius IX before his death was a protest against King Humbert assuming the name of King of Italy on the death of his father, who expired only one month before the dispossessed Pontiff, and one of the first acts of Leo XIII in that same year was a telegram of congratulation



when King Humbert narrowly escaped from the danger of Passanante, which was as follows :—

*“ To His Majesty King Humbert. —* News having reached me of the deplorable attempt against the life of Your Majesty, I express my most lively condolences, and at the same time my congratulations at Your Majesty having escaped the grave peril. I pray God for the conservation of the health of Your Majesty.—*LEO XIII.”*

Protests from the Holy See during the pontificate of Leo XIII were not lacking, he having made special efforts to re-establish good relations between the Vatican and foreign Governments and Courts, doing his best, whenever possible, to isolate United Italy and the House of Savoy. The first important royalty who came to Rome was the then Crown Prince Frederick of Germany, in December 1883, who was also the first for whom was evolved that strange ceremonial for visiting the Pope, which consists in leaving the Quirinal Palace, going to the seat of the Embassy accredited to the Quirinal, from thence to the Legation accredited to the Vatican, and then at last in a different carriage to the Apostolic Palace. King Edward VII was the first Sovereign who, not having any representative to the Vatican, started direct from the Embassy accredited to the King of Italy. It is reported that with Prince Frederick Leo XIII tried to lead the conversation to the Roman Question, but the Prince answered that he was not authorized to discuss any subjects with His Holiness, as his visit was quite impromptu, and he did not even

reply when the Pope, who was already planning to approach the Iron Chancellor, dropped the remark, "It is a pity that Prince Bismarck detests me!" The phrase, however, produced the desired effect, as, not long after, Prince Bismarck proposed the Pope as arbiter in the famous dispute over the Caroline Islands.

Leo XIII made the visit of Prince Frederick the occasion for sending to the Papal Nuncios a note to be communicated to the Governments to which they were accredited, again claiming the Temporal Power, and pointing out that if he had received the guest of the King of Italy it was only because he was a Protestant, while he could never admit to his presence Catholic princes or sovereigns who accepted the hospitality of the King of Italy in Rome.

The arbitration of the Carolines satisfactorily accomplished for both countries at the end of 1885, and after the flattering letter of Bismarck, in which he addressed the Pope as "Sire," Leo XIII was encouraged to send Mgr. Galimberti as his representative to the Jubilee of Emperor William in 1887, giving him a secret mission for Prince Bismarck, which comprised the following questions : advisability and advantages of a Papal representative in Berlin ; opinion of Prince Bismarck about Italy ; and if he were disposed, and when and how, to re-establish the Pontiff in his territorial rights ; what part might be reserved to the action of the Pope in European differences ; possibility of such an action being invoked in the question of Alsace-Lorraine, in which case the Pope intended to solve the difficulty by the neutralisation of the two

provinces. Leo XIII understood that if his arbitration between Germany and France had been possible and successful, he would have had both Empire and Republic indebted to him and willing to support his claims. As events proved, none of these desires of the Pope were satisfied, but it is interesting to see from the notes left by Mgr. Galimberti, afterwards Cardinal, how the Iron Chancellor, who five years earlier had made the alliance between Germany and Italy and had just renewed it, spoke of the Roman Question. He said that only the thought of the Pope made him hesitate to conclude the Triplice, and that if Italy should return Rome to the Pope he should be happy, as with the cessation of the conflict between Church and State Italy would be stronger. He added that if Italy should lean towards becoming a Republic, therefore towards France, he would favour, not only the return of the Pope, but even of the King of Naples, while he "understood that without territory there is no true independence or real sovereignty."

Partly from disillusionment at the failure of this attempt, partly in order to try other ways of reaching the same object, Leo XIII appointed, on the eve of his Jubilee, Cardinal Rampolla Secretary of State, which meant a triumph for the France of those days, whose aim it was to have the Vatican on her side, both in her home and foreign politics.

Before this, one of the strangest incidents in connexion with a possible conciliation between Church and State had occurred. Signor Crispi was in power, and through his godson, Mgr.

Carini, a son of General Carini, one of Garibaldi's Thousand, who had known Leo XIII when Archbishop of Perugia, he got the idea that the Pope was not animated by anti-Italian feelings, and might be induced to come to an understanding, and he therefore received with satisfaction the overtures made in this sense by Father Luigi Tosti, a learned Benedictine who in his youth had shared with some of the great ecclesiastics, such as Gioberti and Rosmini, the idea of an Italian confederation under the Pope, and after 1870 had not ceased to believe that even in the present state of things a satisfactory *modus vivendi* could be found which would give religious peace to the nation. He thought and reported to Crispi that Leo XIII was willing to negotiate a conciliation, having as basis the maintenance of Italian Unity. Father Tosti supported his assertion by showing to the Italian Premier the proofs of a pamphlet he had written by order of the Pope expounding these ideas. Signor Crispi entrusted the Benedictine to notify to the Pontiff that on the part of Italy and her Government everything in their power would be done to second his efforts and smooth the way to the much-desired understanding. An allocution delivered by Leo XIII in the consistory of May 23, 1887, in which there was a marked absence of any reference to the Temporal Power, gave colour to these hopes, and it seemed as though they were really approaching what only a few years before would have been considered utterly impossible.

The Papacy then had a revival of popularity

which recalled that enjoyed by Pius IX when, after his ascension, he sent the pontifical troops to fight Austria. Father Tosti's pamphlet on Conciliation was an able and subtle disquisition, showing that what had happened in 1870, although regrettable, was the will of the nation, and that to try to undo it would mean civil war, bloodshed, and massacre.

The dream lasted but a short time. Count Lefèvre de Behaine, the French Ambassador, protested strongly in the name of his Government against what France considered detrimental to her interests, and exacted an "explanation" of the Papal allocution, which appeared in the official organ of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano*. At the same time all the Ultramontane and anti-Italian elements brought pressure to bear in order that the Pope should leave no doubts as to his intention of continuing an intransigent policy with regard to Italy. Cardinal Monaco La Valletta protested in the name of the Sacred College; Cardinal Lavigerie in the name of the French Princes of the Church; and from all Catholic countries came the protests of the bishops. Abbé Tosti was induced to write to the Pope a retraction of his pamphlet on the understanding that it would not be published, but a few days after it appeared in full in the *Osservatore Romano*. Cardinal Rampolla had inaugurated his reign only a few days before, on June 2, and Leo XIII wrote him a letter on the 15th of June, in which he once more claimed the Temporal Power. This was followed by a circular note from the Secretary of

State to all the Papal Nuncios, in which the Papal claims were even more strongly emphasized, saying that the allocution of the Pontiff in the consistory of May had been purposely misrepresented by the enemies of the Church, and that neither Leo XIII "nor any of his successors" can ever desist from vindicating the Temporal Power. A satisfactory explanation of what had happened has never been forthcoming, but it is evident that France was at the bottom of it, and her plans became more obvious shortly afterwards, when she supported another movement in favour of conciliation started by Achille Fazzari, an ex-Garibaldian, who, however, desired that the conciliation should coincide with the proclamation of a Republic in the Peninsula. Those who were in power in France at that time argued that if a conciliation were made under the monarchy of Savoy, allied with Germany, it would be against France, while if it were made by a Republic supported by the sister Latin Republic, it would be to their advantage.

Another attempt to see if the Vatican could obtain anything from Germany was made in 1888, after the death of the Emperor William, when all reigning Houses sent their representatives to Berlin to congratulate the Emperor Frederick on his accession. Leo XIII and Cardinal Rampolla decided to entrust this mission to Mgr. Galimberti, then Nuncio in Vienna, who, although strongly antagonistic to the policy of the latter, was for that very reason *persona grata* to the German Government. He was accompanied by the then

Mgr. Raffaele Merry del Val, who was at the beginning of his ecclesiastical career, and no one could imagine that only fifteen years later he would take the place of the Sicilian Secretary of State. The secret instructions given to Mgr. Galimberti were to speak to Prince Bismarck on the Religious Question in Germany, and on the Roman Question. On the latter he was to say that the visit of Signor Crispi to him at Friedrichsruhe, which had occurred about six months before, the telegrams they had exchanged and the way in which that event had been received and commented upon in Italy, "had produced on the Holy Father the most painful impression, the more so because the personality of Crispi is notorious in Rome, his revolutionary and sectarian intentions, his attitude of furious ex-Garibaldian against the Vatican, his intimate ties with the Radicals, and the deep hatred towards the Papacy which often leads him to indecorous violence." He was to insist on the very serious danger for the Pope were Italy to engage in war, trying to obtain from Prince Bismarck "explicit declarations" as to his attitude and that of Germany should the Roman Question come to the front. On this point the mission of Mgr. Galimberti was no more fortunate than that of the previous year. The Chancellor answered, according to the report which the papal envoy sent to the Vatican, that "they were in the right, but one must know how to wait. The restitution of Rome to the Holy See in this moment would cause a revolution in Italy which would bring about the fall of the dynasty and the alliance of the Italian with the

French Republic. This alliance would not be of use either to the Holy See or to the preservation of peace and order in Europe, while, given the hypothesis, much more probable, of a war against France and Russia, the alliance with Italy is necessary not only in a negative but in a positive manner." Mgr. Galimberti having asked if, in the case of a war on the part of France against Italy in order to secure independence to the Holy See, "Catholic Austria would oppose it," the Prince replied, "First one must think of existing, and then of being Catholic. For Austria the alliance with Italy and therefore the defence of Italy from aggression on the part of France is a question of existence. Besides, in this case France would find England also against her." The Chancellor concluded, however, that he was not opposed to the Temporal Power of the Holy See, and that indeed he would co-operate for its restoration when the triumph of the Conservative elements had ensured the peace of Europe.

"None are so deaf as those who will not hear," as the Vatican and Leo XIII himself had to realize when he again prepared to bring forward the Roman Question with Emperor William on the occasion of his first visit to Rome in October 1888. The event itself was not welcome at the Vatican, the Emperor William being the first Sovereign of a great power to visit the King of Italy in Rome since 1870; but as it could not be prevented, the Pontiff and his Secretary of State tried to get all possible advantage from it, and they arranged that the Kaiser should go to the Vatican, following the



same ceremonial adopted for the Crown Prince Frederick in 1883. Signor Crispi in Rome and Prince Bismarck in Berlin had succeeded in ascertaining that the Pontiff, in the private conversation with the German Emperor, intended to obtain from him those "explicit declarations" which the Chancellor had avoided giving a few months before to Mgr. Galimberti, and they, together with Count Herbert von Bismarck, who had accompanied the Emperor and his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, concocted a stratagem to prevent the success of the papal plan. To judge from the emotion felt by the Kaiser in approaching the venerable Pontiff, who made a profound impression on all who came in contact with him, they were right. Those who were present in the papal antechamber when the Emperor arrived say that he was so moved that the gold snuff-box which he had brought to present to the Pope fell from his hand, and later, when he entered the presence, he let his magnificent helmet fall. It had been arranged that the Pope and the Emperor should be left alone for half an hour, after which Prince Henry would arrive and be also received; but the Prince appeared within a few minutes, and Count Bismarck asked that he should enter. Mgr. della Volpe, the Master of Ceremonies, much embarrassed, said that the Prince could not enter until the conversation was over. "A Royal Prince of Prussia does not wait in any antechamber," was the haughty reply of Count Herbert. Mgr. della Volpe, finding no words ready, half opened the door to obtain guidance from the Pope, and the voice of Leo XIII was heard ordering him

to close it, but disregarding this, Count Bismarck flung the door open and Prince Henry joined his brother. It is difficult to describe the consternation at the Vatican. From later indiscretions it was known that Leo XIII greeted the Kaiser saying he would have liked to receive him under better conditions, as Gregory XVI received William IV of Prussia, or as Pius IX in 1853 greeted Prince Frederick, and he went on to complain of the truly deplorable position in which the head of Catholicism found himself, saying that it was so serious and painful as to prevent him, for instance, from returning the visit of His Majesty, for fear of seeing his dignity and his person compromised and endangered. At this moment Count Bismarck and Prince Henry appeared on the scene and the conversation had to continue on conventional lines. The Pope was so affected by this rude contravention of his plans that when he returned to his apartments it was said he wept. The Emperor William did not even follow strictly the established ceremonial on leaving the Vatican, as, instead of returning to the Prussian Legation to the Holy See, as had been arranged, he went directly to the Quirinal, and at the state dinner of that evening toasted King Humbert "the Sovereign Friend and Ally *in the Capital of his Kingdom.*" All this contributed more and more to push the Papacy into the arms of France, giving Cardinal Rampolla a free hand in the realization of his programme, which, however, cost him the tiara at the death of his master.

The work of Leo XIII in his twenty-five years' pontificate was also important in the social field,

and in his encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, which some of his admirers have called "the Magna Charta of Christian Sociology," he addresses both labourers and employers and defines their mutual relationship, urging the former to obedience and the latter to the practice of justice, charity, and love. In philosophy and theology he upheld the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas; in the field of science he was one of the most liberal of Popes, as he opened the secret archives of the Vatican, saying that the Catholic Church fears neither historical truth nor historical criticism; in the field of art his name will be recalled for the restoration of the apses of St. John Lateran, the salvation of the marvellous Borgia apartments in the Vatican, containing Pinturicchio's masterpieces, which had fallen into a deplorable state of neglect and decay; in the purely religious field one of his greatest efforts was to bring back all Christian religions, and especially the Oriental churches, to union with the Holy See, the encyclical *Ad Anglos* being a most important document addressed to the British people.

His illness, senile tuberculosis, began suddenly on the 4th of July 1903, and he died on the afternoon of the 30th of July, the reins of the Papacy in the interregnum being assumed by the Camerlengo Cardinal Oreglia di Santo Stefano.

After reading the Constitutions left by Leo XIII, in which he renewed the instructions of his predecessor concerning the Conclave, the twenty-nine cardinals present chose their secretary, who was also to act as Secretary of State during the interregnum, as the moment a Pope dies his

Secretary of State ceases to exercise his functions. Their choice fell upon Monsignor Merry del Val, the distinguished young prelate whose father had for years held the position of Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See, and who had the advantage of speaking four languages fluently. Contrary to what happened at the death of Pius IX, owing to the quicker means of communication, all foreign cardinals, including the American Cardinal Gibbons, were able to reach Rome in time for the Conclave, with the exception of Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, who arrived too late, so that Great Britain, Cardinal Vaughan having died a few months before, was represented only by Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh.

The Conclave was inaugurated on the morning of July 31, sixty-two cardinals taking part in it, and a document left by Leo XIII was read, in which he gave his last counsels for the welfare of the Church to the members of the Sacred College and to his successor. Cardinal Sarto had been mentioned as a possible Pope, but so many were the cardinals suggested that no one, and he less than anyone else, gave weight to the idea ; indeed, he believed so little in it that on leaving Venice he took a return ticket. In the Conclave he sat next to Cardinal Mathieu, who addressed him in French, and receiving the reply that he did not speak that language, retorted, "Then you will never be Pope," to which the Patriarch humbly replied, "So much the better."

The leading figure in the Conclave was undoubtedly Cardinal Rampolla, whose influence,

even more perhaps than that of his late master, Leo XIII, had done much to assist in bringing about the Dual Alliance between Russia and France, notwithstanding the growing anti-clerical feeling in the ruling classes of the Republic, and had encouraged the antagonism of the clerical elements in Vienna and Budapest towards Italy. The alliance with Russia at last relieved France from her isolation after the war of 1870, and was intended to counterbalance the Triple Alliance, whereby such predominance was given to the Central Empires, sealing the Unity of Italy by acknowledging her as one of the great Powers of Europe. To the astute minds of Leo XIII and his Sicilian Secretary of State it appeared as though the interests of France and the Papacy were identical. They argued—as events proved, mistakenly—that since the Pope lost the Temporal Power through the defeat of France and the consequent withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, it would be to their advantage to hasten the day when France, once more powerful and combatant, would achieve her *revanche*, when they hoped that the triumph of France would be the triumph of her supporters, bringing in its train the restoration of the Temporal Power. These facts in the career of Cardinal Rampolla led several members of the Sacred College to oppose his election, while yet another party, thinking that what the Church needed was rather a religious than a political Pope, decided to give their votes to Cardinal Gotti, the Genoese Carmelite who had succeeded Cardinal Ledochowski as Prefect of the

Propaganda Fide, that most important of the Roman Congregations, the head of which is often called the "Red Pope," as the General of the Jesuits is called the "Black Pope," and the Pontiff himself the "White Pope," from the colour of their respective robes.

The morning and afternoon scrutinies for the election of the Pope took place in the Sistine Chapel, that unique monument to the genius of Michelangelo, which had been transformed for the occasion. Along the two sides of the chapel were the cardinals' thrones, each with its purple canopy, since that colour is the sign of mourning for the cardinals created by the defunct Pontiff, only that of Cardinal Oreglia being green, as he was the only surviving cardinal created by Pius IX. A gold chalice was used to receive the voting papers, while there were special urns to take to the different cells if any cardinal through illness were unable to be present, as was the case with the Bishop of Valencia.

After each scrutiny the voting papers were carried by a Master of Ceremonies under the inspection of a cardinal to a little room adjoining the Sistine Chapel, and were there burned in a stove erected for the purpose. The chimney of this stove is a zinc pipe rising above the roof of the Sistine Chapel, the smoke of which conveyed to the people gathered in thousands in the Piazza of St. Peter both morning and afternoon the news that the new Pope was not elected. This is called by the Romans the "sfumata." In old days the voting papers were burned inside the Sistine

Chapel itself in the presence of the cardinals, but since the smoke damaged Michelangelo's pictures, the stove was substituted, and as this became a sign to the anxious watchers outside, in order to render it more visible damp straw was added to the voting papers, and this was even done when, before 1870, some of the Conclaves took place in the Quirinal Palace, in order not to deprive the people of the information they desired.

In the first vote taken on the morning of August 1, Cardinal Rampolla had 24 votes, Cardinal Gotti 17, Cardinal Sarto 5, Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli 4, Cardinals Oreglia, Capeceletro, Di Pietro 2 each, Cardinals Agliardi, Ferrata, Cassetta, Portanova, Richelmy, and Segna 1 each.

In the scrutiny of the afternoon of August 1, the votes given to Rampolla rose to 28, those to Gotti remained 17, those for Sarto doubled, reaching 10, the remainder going, 3 to Richelmy, 2 to Capeceletro, and 1 each to Serafino Vannutelli and to Segna.

Although Rampolla lacked 14 votes to reach the prescribed two-thirds necessary for the election, there is no doubt that he was making progress and would probably have ended by gaining the day, but suddenly a thunderbolt burst on the tranquillity of the Conclave. The Austrian Cardinal Puzyna rose and announced: "In the name and by the authority of His Apostolic Majesty Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, that he wishes to use the old rights and privileges of the veto of exclusion against his Eminence Cardinal Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro."

The astonishment was so great that it was some time before calm was re-established, when Cardinal Oreglia, his voice trembling with emotion, said that the Conclave could not in any way accept such a communication nor take it in any account in their decision. Meanwhile, in the midst of an extraordinary agitation, the only person who remained dignified and impassible, although all eyes were turned towards him, was Cardinal Rampolla. When the Camerlengo had finished speaking, the ex-Secretary of State rose, his tall figure seeming more impressive than ever, and without betraying the least emotion, he said, "I regret the serious attempt made by a lay Power against the liberty of the Church and the dignity of the Sacred College in such an important matter as the election of the Pontiff. While I protest most energetically against this, so far as my humble person is concerned, I consider what has happened most honourable and pleasing to me."

Notwithstanding the secrecy of the Conclave, the news of the veto spread outside with lightning rapidity and produced an immediate impression, every one attributing it to an understanding between the Powers forming the Triple Alliance, equally desirous to avoid a pontificate of Cardinal Rampolla, who during his office of Secretary of State could hardly have been more francophile or a stronger opponent of the Triplice.

Austria, who had intended to oppose the elections of both Leo XIII and Pius IX, thus succeeded in preventing that of Rampolla.

The members of the Conclave wished to



demonstrate that they were not influenced by an extraneous and lay interference, which was even more offensive from the form it had taken, so in the scrutiny which followed Cardinal Rampolla's votes rose still more, reaching 30; but those for Sarto rose also, increasing suddenly from 10 to 24, showing the determination of the group, which had until then voted for Gotti, to concentrate their suffrages upon the Patriarch of Venice, as what may be called a compromise candidate. He was at first so disconcerted as to burst into tears and implore his colleagues to spare him such an honourable but overwhelming burden. This had, however, only the effect of increasing the sympathies which he had already aroused, and in the scrutiny of Monday morning, August 3, he surpassed Cardinal Rampolla for the first time, having 27 votes, and the Secretary of State 24. In the evening Sarto's votes rose to 35, and Rampolla had only 16; by this time his election was considered certain, and, in fact, in the scrutiny of the next morning he received 50 votes, only ten remaining faithful to Rampolla and two to Gotti. Shortly after, Cardinal Macchi, Senior of the Cardinal-Deacons, appeared on the balcony above the main entrance of St. Peter's, crowded with people hardly restrained by the Italian troops, which were ordered to present arms while the traditional formula rang out, "*annuntio vobis gaudium magnum*," which from time immemorial has heralded the advent of a new Pope, and the bells of the five hundred churches of Rome acclaimed the humble peasant of Riese as Pius X, the head

of the Catholic world. Great curiosity was felt as to whether the new Pope would appear on the same balcony to give his first benediction, as in papal times, which would have been interpreted as a first step towards a conciliatory policy on the part of him who, as Patriarch of Venice, had been in cordial relations with the members of the House of Savoy. Pius X, however, like Leo XIII, gave his blessing, *urbi et orbi*, from the balcony within the Basilica, and in the gradual development of his policy as Pope he did not deviate from the path traced by his two immediate predecessors, though his patriotic love for Italy, and his affection and tenderness towards his fellow-countrymen, whether of high or low estate, has never been called in question. It was reported that he had intended to bless the people from the outside loggia, but that he was advised not to do so, as it was also said that he wished to spend the summer in the papal villa at Castel Gandolfo, on the Albanian hills, but he was urged not to break even to that extent the voluntary imprisonment in the Vatican, and in the summer of 1911 he almost died from the suffocating heat. Finally, it was asserted that when the appalling earthquake of 1908 in Sicily and Calabria occurred, his first instinct was to rush amidst his suffering children there, but then also he was prevented.

One of his first acts, even before leaving the precincts of the Conclave, was to appoint the then Monsignor Merry del Val pro-Secretary of State, a position which he changed into that of permanent Secretary of State when, on November 9 of that year, he held a Consistory on purpose to create him,



POPE PIUS X IN THE VATICAN GARDENS



and his intimate friend, Mgr. Callegari, Bishop of Padua, cardinals. While the Coronation of Leo XIII took place in the Sistine Chapel, that of Pius X was celebrated in St. Peter's before a crowd of over seventy-five thousand persons, and no unpleasant incident occurred, owing chiefly to the number of troops which the Italian Government employed to maintain order outside, and the number of detectives inside the building.

From the very beginning of his pontificate Pius X led an unrelenting campaign against a tendency which had been growing, especially among the most cultured of the clergy, aiming, as they thought, to avoid the conflict of religion with science. Leo XIII desired to democratize the Church in its forms; the new movement under Pius X desired to reform the Church in its dogmas, and this could not be permitted by the Holy See. The efforts towards this last movement were so isolated and inorganic that some people have affirmed that it never became a party with a name, a programme, and men to carry it on, until the Vatican opened war against it and Pius X, with his allocutions and encyclicals, condemned it so strongly, and, having recourse to the most severe measures, created what has since been known as "Modernism."

The most prominent papal documents on this subject were the encyclical of July 1906, *Pieni l'Animo*, a new revised syllabus which appeared in July of the following year, and the encyclical of September 1907, *Pascendi*, by which the submission of the clergy to the bishops is prescribed almost without restriction in every field of human

activity, as it has to do not only with religion and theological and dogmatic questions, but extends to political, social, and educational manifestations, going so far, for instance, as to forbid the reading of newspapers of any kind in the seminaries, and obliging ecclesiastics who hold any position to take an oath against Modernism. The action of the Church was as severe as the words of the papal documents, and recalcitrant priests were suspended from their sacerdotal office, excommunicated if necessary, clerical professors were expelled from their Chairs, and all infected literature, or what was supposed to be such, was destroyed and condemned. The victims were many, but those better known were Father Tyrrell in England, the Abbé Loisy in France, followed in these later years by the well-known scholar, Mgr. Duchesne, Director of the French Historical School in Rome, who, notwithstanding being a member of the French Academy, had his *History of the Ancient Church* put upon the *Index* at the end of January 1912, and, finally, Father Romolo Murri in Italy. The last named was quite a young priest, who started in his career as secretary to Cardinal Agliardi, who defended and supported him as long as he could in his later troubles, the Cardinal himself being one of the most enlightened and liberal members of the Sacred College, his deep religion not preventing him from having an open mind which allows him to be an ardent patriot. Don Murri was very young, very poor, and very ambitious. He tried in several directions, and that is why his enemies were able later on to compare

writings of his at different times which maintained opposite opinions. He began by being one of the leaders of the Christian Democrats, a movement which originated from the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII; but even independently from the fact that Pius X did not altogether approve the application made of the theories of his predecessor in political and social questions, there is no doubt that the young priest in his reviews, the "Cultura Sociale," first, and "Rivista di Cultura" afterwards, faced a much vaster programme, which included a reform of the Catholic Church in some of its fundamental principles and doctrines. He was warned, reprimanded, suspended, and excommunicated, his writings put on the *Index*, his reviews banned. He passed through different periods of repentance and relapses, and finally ended by defying his Bishop and the Pope himself, and in the general election of 1909 he stood for the constituency of Monte Giorgio, with a semi-Socialist platform and an indefinite programme of religious reform, which landed him in the Chamber to sit at the Extreme Left among men, the majority of whom were freethinkers. It was strange to see again in the Italian Chamber a member dressed in clerical costume, which had been unknown for over forty years, and the "Honourable" Murri, as the Italians call their deputies, wore his cassock for about two years after his election, notwithstanding the major excommunication hurled against him. He finally appeared in civilian clothes, and in April 1912 married Miss Lund, the daughter of a

Norwegian Senator. The most surprising feature of all these attempts to affect the Church either in its essence or in its external manifestations is that those who led the movement, no matter how vast the sympathy they inspired as long as they remained within the pale of the Church, once outside lost all influence and were abandoned even by their former most ardent followers, finding adherents only among the parties which have anti-clericalism as a main feature of their creed. When the polemics were at their height, it was tried in England to demonstrate that the papal encyclical *Pascendi*, in condemning Modernism, also condemned some of Cardinal Newman's writings, so that it identified the great English Catholic theologian with those now banned by the Church. A communication of the Vatican explained that many of those calling themselves true interpreters of Newman were only Modernists more or less disguised, as the doctrines of the English cardinal had nothing in common with the tendencies condemned in the encyclical *Pascendi*; but even if they had he would not have been the first illustrious Catholic philosopher and theologian, including even cardinals, who had expressed opinions of which the Church cannot approve.



## CHAPTER XIII

### LITERATURE AND SCIENCE

Giosuè Carducci—A revolutionary literature—From Republican to Monarchist—Half a century of teaching—Antonio Fogazzaro—His religious and literary personality—A great trilogy—*The Saint on the Index*—Gabriele D'Annunzio—The worship of beauty—His novels, poems, and plays—D'Annunzio as politician—Other writers in poetry, romance, history, science—Women writers—Matilde Serao—Ada Negri—Grazia Deledda

AS Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, and Victor Emmanuel II embodied the epic spirit of the New Italy, so Giosuè Carducci was the highest literary expression of that wave of vitality and patriotism which in less than half a century regenerated Italy socially and politically. Carducci found the literature of his day effete, conventional, and sentimental; his manly genius sought new moulds for his intense and noble thought, and re-evoked that appreciation of classic form, that pagan love of life, of nature, and of beauty for their own sake which is innate in every Italian heart. Carducci had inherited from his father, a doctor, who in his youth had been a "carbonaro" conspirator, and had suffered for his share in the revolution of 1831, a spirit of revolt, and that fervent and unselfish patriotism which

remained with him throughout his life, and inspired many of his noblest poems. During his early days of poverty and enthusiasm in Florence, Giosuè Carducci steeped himself in the classics, and, disgusted by the sickly and insincere writings of the Romantic school, then paramount in Italy, attacked it with characteristic vehemence and energy, becoming the leader of a band of young men, all aflame with patriotism and longing to raise the literature of their country to a manliness and nobility worthy of their political ideals.

In 1860, when only twenty-five years of age, he became Professor of Classical Literature at Bologna, where he remained for the rest of his life, a centre of noble, virile thought, allied to beautiful forms of expression, an example to Young Italy of all that is finest in the Italian character, and in the great epoch into which he was born. A couple of small volumes of verse attracted but little attention, but in 1871, Italy's struggle for freedom over, Carducci published a volume which contained many of his political poems, and also the famous *Hymn to Satan*, an impassioned ode which thrilled all Italy, and aroused horror and indignation in clerical circles. In time, however, it was realized that the name was the worst part of it,—for it was no blasphemous and irreverent apotheosis of the traditional Spirit of Evil, but represented that spirit of revolt and liberty which leads to renewal and advance in every side of human life, a protest against the priestly tyranny and asceticism that would fain stifle the sacred rights of human thought and reason.

It was not until the *Rime Nuove* of the following year, that the literary world, abroad as well as at home, realized that a great and original poet had arisen, whose strength, feeling for beauty, and powerful satire made him one of the great lyric singers of the century. The strangely named *Odi Barbare* were, however, the full expression of his maturity, and may be said to have initiated a revolution in modern Italian literature. They excited furious criticism and disapproval. It is hardly a matter for surprise that it should have been so, for neither in form nor substance were they easy reading. To a public accustomed to make the facile conventional rhymes of those who then dominated Italian verse their ideal of poetical expression, the rough sonorous lines, in which rhythm instead of rhyme supplies the music, dense with thought and crowded with erudite classic allusions, seemed indeed barbarous and uncouth, but Carducci, who was himself a profound literary critic, and whose prose writings are full of fire and insight, was well able to defend himself, as he did when his famous *Ça Ira* sonnets were attacked; and before long the reading public realized that a poet of the first order had arisen among them, who, taking the forms of expression of the great classical poets of Greece and Rome, had infused life into them once more and made them the vehicle of absolutely modern thought and of noble inspiring sentiments. Carducci, who was ever a fighter, roused another storm of disapproval and abuse when, in 1878, he, the stalwart Republican and enthusiast for perfect liberty, passed to the mon-

archical party, and published the ode *Alla Regina d'Italia*. The Republicans reproached him bitterly for having deserted his principles, and even insinuated that he had done it from interested motives, but, shortly after, his manner of receiving the news that he was to be decorated with the Civil Order of Savoy was a sufficient contradiction of the latter idea. Carducci begged to be excused from accepting the proffered honour, and when asked his reasons made the characteristic reply : " First, because it is a pleasure for me to renounce ; then because a pension is attached to the decoration, and I prefer my ideas to any money ; and, finally, I have learned that I must kneel and take an oath on the Gospels, and that nothing would induce me to do." In his prose writings Carducci makes a simple and dignified profession of his change of faith, explaining that " by education and habit an antique Republican, through a continual expansion of historical and political comparison, I felt myself reattracted and converted simply and sincerely to the Monarchy, under which only I now firmly believe can Italy remain united and strong : in addition, I profess myself affectionately devoted to the great civilization and humanity of Humbert I." Others, however, attributed the poet's conversion to another influence, that of Queen Margherita, who was well known to be an enthusiastic admirer of his works, and various amusing stories are told of the first encounters between the rugged, uncourtier-like poet and the graceful, cultured Queen, then in the flower of her youth and loveliness. Both loved the mountainous scenery round Aosta, and there they met and became

intimate friends ; and when, a year before his death, the Queen heard that Carducci had decided to sell his beloved library because he feared to leave his family in want, she at once bought it, together with the house in which he lived, to be kept as a national memorial, but left him the use of both for life. Carducci was for a short time a Deputy and also a Senator, but his uncompromising nature was not suited for political work ; his outlook on life may be summed up in his own words : " I have never asked women for love, men for friendship, youth for admiration, journalists for praise, people for votes, or Ministers for place," but from his chair in Bologna he exercised an incalculable influence on the youth of his day, teaching for nearly half a century high ideals of life, of thought, of scholarship, and of poetry.

As Carducci represents the classic tradition in Italy, Antonio Fogazzaro represents the romantic. His literary ancestor was Manzoni, but unlike Manzoni, who was satisfied to tell a story for its own sake, without working out any social, political, or religious thesis, Fogazzaro's novels revolve around the problems of the soul and spirit which have to be faced by a more complex generation, and which insistently demanded a solution from his thoughtful and deeply religious personality, while he voiced the doubts and aspirations of thousands of the men and women of his day. Born in Vicenza in 1842, he was brought up in cultured, refined surroundings, with a father belonging to the best type of country gentleman, who taught him to love literature and to be familiar with the great classics, and a mother who cultivated his taste for art and music. One

of Fogazzaro's early remembrances is that of seeing his father go out to fight against the Austrians in defence of his native town, while his mother prepared badges for the combatants and bandages for the wounded; and this atmosphere of patriotism and hatred of the yoke of Austria is reflected in the greatest of his earlier books, the *Piccolo Mondo Antico* (The Little Antique World). At his father's desire he studied Law, though he never practised, and his tastes and training alike soon led him to literature as his profession. His first publications were in verse,—*Miranda* in 1874, and *Valsolda* in 1876,—and though as poetry they fall short of greatness, they are full of charm, delicate observation, and beautiful tender feeling. His first novel, *Malombra*, was sad and somewhat morbid in tone, but the following one, *Daniele Cortis*, which he published in 1885, showed clearly the direction of his mind. In this novel the writer developed his ideas on morality, religion, and politics, and showed a pure and sublime love, in which two noble souls rise above the storms of human passion and desire into the rarer atmosphere of self-forgetfulness and faithfulness to their high ideals. This was followed by *The Mystery of the Poet*, a tender, delicate dream of sentiment and romance which came to him during his travels in Germany in 1885, and it was not until 1896, when Fogazzaro was fifty-four, that he published the first of his great trilogy, *The Little Antique World*, in which, besides the tragedy of two souls, he gives an ineffaceable picture of the Italy of a past day, with its characteristic survivals and conventional



ANTONIO FOGAZZARO





society, with its new spirit of transition, of intellectual and political unrest, together with descriptions of natural beauty of a loving fidelity and exquisite perception. It was almost a new departure in Italy for religious problems to be treated in a novel; it is the story of the spiritual struggle between two married lovers, where the wife is without faith and the husband has deep religious convictions; where the apparently stronger character of Luisa Maironi fails before the terrible test of the death of their child, while Franco, whose character seemed weak and wanting in energy, rises, strengthened and purified by sorrow and religion, to a noble conception of life and duty.

In the *Piccolo Mondo Moderno* (The Little Modern World), which followed, we have the same minute and masterly study of character and customs in a small provincial town, with its petty intrigues, its individual types, and its narrow outlook. The protagonist is Piero Maironi, the son of the hero and heroine of *The Little Antique World*, who, having a wife who is hopelessly insane, struggles valiantly against his love for Jeanne Dessalle, a beautiful and intellectual woman, developing, under the influence of his aspirations for purity and holiness, a mystic spirituality, until, believing himself called by a vision to the higher life, he renounces the world and takes refuge in a monastery.

In the last volume of the series, *The Saint*, we find Pietro Maironi as a lay brother, Benedetto, who devotes himself to the service of the poor and suffering, preaching a Gospel of purity, righteousness, and love as the solution of the problems of the

modern world, and though he remains a loyal and obedient son of the Catholic Church, he does not hesitate to criticize and condemn falsehood, avarice, worldiness, and intrigue, even when he finds them in ecclesiastical circles. Such actions do not make him popular with his clerical superiors, and the book is the history of the intangible but persistent martyrdom of opposition and disapproval which is the fate of the man who tries, alone and unsupported, to regenerate the Church.

*The Saint* is not only a subtle and powerful psychological study of an abnormal religious development, worked out with all the tenderness and sympathy which is characteristic of the author, but it also sums up the religious convictions of Fogazzaro, and, to a certain extent, the faith and practice of Italian Christian Democrats, with their keen desire to help the downtrodden and the suffering, and to return to the purity and spirituality of the Early Church. Fogazzaro was a convinced and obedient Catholic, a philosopher and lover of science, and through his whole career he wrestled with the practical problems entailed by the antagonistic position of Church and State in his beloved country, and strove to harmonize the laws of God as revealed in nature and science with the dogma and teaching of the Church of which he was a devout member. In *The Saint*, Brother Benedetto in simple but impassioned words conjures the Pope to exorcize the four evil spirits which war upon the Holy Spirit in the Church, the spirit of falsehood, of clerical domination, of avarice, and of immobility, and implores him not to permit the condemnation

of good and ennobling works even though they contain daring opinions, "which would be a blow to the most living and vital energies of Catholicism." In the romance, the Pope listens and gives the speaker his blessing, hoping to meet him again in heaven ;—in real life, the book which contained such daring counsels was inexorably and not unnaturally placed on the *Index*. The same fate befell Signor Fogazzaro's last book, *Leila*, in which the posthumous influence of the Saint is shown, and which had as its object to indicate Fogazzaro's submission to the censure of which the earlier novel had been the object. Though he felt deeply and keenly the condemnation of his work by the authorities, Fogazzaro submitted as a good Catholic, and for the short remainder of his life he was surrounded by the devoted love of his family and the veneration and esteem of his neighbours and fellow-countrymen, to whom he had consistently upheld a pure and noble ideal of life and thought.

One who has perhaps influenced his generation more than Carducci or Fogazzaro, is Gabriele D'Annunzio, poet, novelist, and play-writer, who, notwithstanding the charges of decadent immorality and foulness which have too truly been brought against him, has conquered a place among the first of living literary men by his marvellous mastery of the Italian language, the magic of his style, the music of his descriptions, and the exuberance of his imagination. Instead of the instinctive aspiration of the northern type for something beyond itself, for the mystic support and consolation of religion, the Latin mind turns more naturally to the worship

of beauty, the pagan desire to enjoy all the possibilities of to-day, since the more materialistic spirit of the race has a less firm faith in the morrow. In the world evolved by D'Annunzio, religion, morality, and altruism do not exist ; he loves art and beauty for their own sake, without asking that they should be the outward expression of a pure and noble ideal—rather is he attracted by the phosphorescent glamour of decay, by strange and monstrous sins, the complex and unnatural emotions of an artificial civilization. He dared to preach not only the attraction but the poetry and beauty of luxury and vice, to proclaim the cult of a love unbridled by honour or duty, the right to develop the individuality without thought of conscience or consideration for others, and it was perhaps his fearless enunciation of this point of view that made D'Annunzio's popularity so immediate and widespread.

D'Annunzio, who is a native of the Abruzzi, was sent to Rome to complete his studies, and at fourteen years of age published his first book of verses, which was hailed as the dawn of a poetic genius, and was followed two years later by another volume and by his eloping with the equally young Duchessina di Gallese, who became his wife, the first of the long series of love adventures in his life. All his novels, and they are many, contain, besides an exaggerated realism in which he surpasses the French writers of the naturalistic school, such a defiance of all the ordinary canons of morality and honour, such a constant appeal to sensuality, and such a reiteration of one hero whose ideal is degeneracy and corruption, and in whom it is no secret



GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO



that the author describes himself, that the language in which they are written, marvellous and splendid, although sometimes too florid and artificial, cannot save them from being repulsive to the ordinary healthy-minded reader.

One of these novels, *Il Fuoco*, undoubtedly among his best as a literary work, was universally condemned even by his most ardent admirers, as it too obviously contained the story of his relations with the greatest Italian actress of the day.

D'Annunzio's attempt to write for the theatre has been on the whole a failure, although some of his works are still represented, and one, *The Daughter of Jorio*, is frequently given with success. The reason is that, in this play, he depicted the life of his native Abruzzi, choosing a human tragedy in his wild but real character, while in the others he took as examples the ancient Greek dramas, and his heroes and heroines are the same unwholesome types that are to be found in his novels.

A breath of fresh and elevating poetry breathes through his patriotic songs, from the *Odi Navali*, which celebrate Italy's strength on the sea and her people's passion for it, to that splendid ring of odes to the heroes and heroisms of Italy by sea and land in her war in Tripoli. D'Annunzio has been the most violent among Italian poets in his attacks on Austria, going so far as to personally insult the octogenarian Emperor Francis Joseph, in one of his odes on the war of 1912, obliging the Italian Government to confiscate the poem, while Austria banished his works from the Empire.

As has often been the case with artists and

literary men, although D'Annunzio's books have brought him very large returns, his financial condition has never been satisfactory. He was obliged to leave the beautiful and picturesque Villa of the Capponcina, at Settignano, on the slopes of the hill near Florence, which he had transformed into a museum of art treasures, and went to live at Arcachon, in France, his belongings being sold at auction by his creditors. While there, he wrote as a *tour de force* in the French language his *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, which, as might be expected, was erotic instead of ascetic in tone, was ostracized by the Roman Church, and had simply a success of esteem, as the Latins say, when they wish to gild the bitter pill of failure.

Another poet who wrote good verses, but pushed realism to excess, exalting vice and immorality, is Olindo Guerrini, better known under his *nom de plume* of Lorenzo Stecchetti, as his first volume, *Postuma*, was published as being the work of a certain Stecchetti who died of consumption. *Postuma* was followed by *La Nuova Polemica*, which was even more frankly indecent and profane.

Giovanni Pascoli was called to take the Chair of Literature at the University of Bologna on the death of Carducci, and may in a certain sense be said to have continued Carducci's classic tradition. He was the absolute antithesis of D'Annunzio, in the sense that whenever love comes into his poems, which happens infrequently, it is treated from a pure and elevated point of view. His youth was marred by a terrible catastrophe, the murder of his father, which left a deep mark in his life as man and



as poet. His seven volumes of verse which began with *Myricæ* are full of a sincere heartfelt love of nature and of simple joys and sorrows, expressed with a limpid freshness which harmonizes well with the tender sentiment. He wrote numerous books of critical studies and was unrivalled in his Latin poetry, which was splendid in style and full of vigour and purity of language.

Mario Rapisardi, who was born in Sicily in the middle of the nineteenth century and died at the age of sixty-seven, was a constant and bitter opponent of Carducci, from whom he differed not only in literature and in poetry but also in being constant to the political principles which he professed. He wrote, among other books, the poems *Giobbe* and *Lucifero*, and made some excellent translations of Shelley.

Some of Edmondo de Amicis' books are undoubtedly those which have been the most widely read by the last generation of Italians. He became suddenly known when, as a young Piedmontese officer, he published his first book, *Military Life*, sketches and anecdotes of officers and soldiers, which had a great success for their charming humour, combined with a tender sentiment which was criticized as being almost sentimental, but which certainly found its way direct to the heart of the great majority of his fellow-countrymen. He wrote a series of books on travel containing some magnificent and effective descriptions, but his greatest success was *Cuore* (Heart), which is practically a return to his first manner, only in another field, consisting of short stories for children, in which

he constantly touches the heart by tales of humble heroism, patriotism, and devotion. In his *Romance of a Schoolmaster* he depicts the narrowness and poverty of a teacher's life. The impressionable organism of De Amicis was attracted by the political creed that sought to protect the helpless and oppressed, and the old officer turned Socialist, and was even elected member of Parliament, but he never exercised a great political influence, nor did he ever produce the great Socialist book, *The First of May*, which "the party" often announced. His last works were original, although they did not reach the circulation of his earlier books. One, called *The Carriage of All*, is an interesting although perhaps prolix study of types and anecdotes gathered in the omnibus, and the other, *l'Idioma Gentile*, is a campaign in favour of purity in the Italian language and against the intrusion of foreign words and expressions.

A promising poet was Aurelio Costanzo, a Sicilian, but after a book of musical verses called *The Heroes of the Garret*, in which he depicted the Bohemian life of to-day, he has given to the world nothing of importance.

Giovanni Verga, also a Sicilian, emerged in the realistic field, and although he has written quite a number of novels, such as *The Malavoglia* and *Mastro Don Gesualdo*, he is best known by his *Rustic Novels*, a vivid picture of Sicilian life and customs which provided the canvas for the libretto of the famous *Cavalleria Rusticana* of Mascagni, and for a long lawsuit between the novelist and the composer, which went on for many years.

Salvatore Farina, whose chief book is called *Mio Figlio* (My Son), belongs to the healthy school of writers whose books are more of the type of the average English novel. The same can be said of the romances and plays of Girolamo Rovetta, whose best-known work is *Mater Dolorosa*, and of Anton Giulio Barrili, a most prolific writer.

Giuseppe Giacosa, a Piedmontese, was the author of several brilliant plays on subjects dealing with the aristocracy. The best known and most successful was the *Partita a Scacchi* (The Game of Chess), and he was the first Italian dramatist to cross the ocean and be present at the representation of one of his plays, *La Dame de Challant*, written in French for Sarah Bernhardt, who represented it in New York in 1891.

In the field of History the first place is occupied by Pasquale Villari, who, although almost nonagenarian, still works and writes with youthful vigour, exercising a weighty influence on public opinion. He is a Neapolitan, but, having taken part in the revolution of 1848, was obliged to leave his native town and established himself in Florence. His long sojourn in the Tuscan capital, where he still lives, enabled him to consult libraries and archives and find the enormous quantity of documents necessary to write his two most important works, *The History of Savonarola and his Times*, and *Niccolò Macchiavelli*, which have been translated into all languages. He was for many years a Deputy; since 1884 he has been a Senator, and in the Rudinì Cabinet of 1891-92 he was Minister of Public Instruction.

Senator Luigi Chiala has contributed several volumes of important historic work on the unification of Italy, among the most important being his collection of Cavour's letters. Senator Giovanni Faldella is the author of several historical essays and of an interesting volume on Young Italy.

Senator Romualdo Bonfadini was one of the most appreciated writers on the history of Milan, and Senator Pompeo Molmenti is the greatest living authority on the glories of Venice. Finally, Guglielmo Ferrero occupies now the leading position among the young historians, although he began his career as an anthropologist of the school of Lombroso, his father-in-law. His powerful historical books deal chiefly with Ancient Rome.

Raffaello Giovagnoli, a writer and politician, for many years Deputy and then Senator, wrote historical novels all on themes of Ancient Rome, his most popular being *Spartaco*.

There is a widespread but most mistaken idea that Italians are chiefly singers and artists, but modern Italy has given to the world illustrious men in all scientific departments, while as inventors and mechanics they are second to none.

Guglielmo Marconi, an Italian from Bologna, whose mother is Irish, has drawn the whole world closer together by his wonderful invention of wireless telegraphy.

Antonio Pacinotti, who died in March 1912, was so modest that his name was almost unknown outside the world of learning, although the mere



CESARE LOMBROSO



invention of his magnetic ring entitled him to one of the first places among the scientists of our day.

Another great name in electricity was Galileo Ferraris, who died at the end of the nineteenth century ; in astronomy, Giovanni Schiaparelli was the first to give the most complete map of the planet Mars, while Father Secchi, Director of the Vatican Observatory, distinguished himself in the same field, and Father Bertelli is the inventor of new perfected instruments capable of detecting the slightest earthquake. In vulcanology and seismology very important studies have been made by Father Alfani, Director of the Observatory at Florence, and by Professor Matteucci, for many years Director of the Vesuvius Observatory, who, like a soldier at his post, remained with his instruments during the terrific eruption of April 1906, risking his life to make most valuable observations. He died shortly afterwards.

In chemistry Italy boasts such names as that of Senator Canizzaro ; in pathology, Camillo Golgi ; in biology, Professor Grassi ; in mathematics, Luigi Cremona ; in philosophy, Roberto Ardigò ; in physiology, Angelo Mosso, in philology, Graziadio Ascoli ; in political economy, Senator Gerolamo Boccardo, who, when a young man, attracted the attention of Cavour, and may be called the founder of the present school of writers on that subject.

In criminology Italy occupies the first place with Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, Giuseppe Sergi, and Enrico Morselli.

The greatest Italian woman writer is un-

doubtedly Matilde Serao, and she is the only woman who has run, and run successfully, daily papers. She started the *Corriere di Roma*, afterwards transferred to Naples, and together with her husband, Edoardo Scarfoglio, founded the *Mattino*, the most influential newspaper in the South, and in 1903 she launched another of her own, which she edits, called the *Giorno*. Her literary energy and facility is such that it is impossible to notice her whole output, but she has certainly written several books that will live as an extraordinarily faithful reflection of the kaleidoscopic life of Naples and the southern provinces, with their faults, their virtues, and their seething vitality. Her genius and her books have all the keen intelligence, the warm heart, the volubility, and the *joie de vivre* of her people; she loves and understands them to the uttermost, and she preaches that their faults are the faults of their rulers, of their education, or want of it, of their poverty and surroundings. Born in 1856 at Patras, of a Greek mother and Neapolitan father, she inherited from the former her love of literature, and from the latter her facile pen and keen interest in life. Starting with the diploma of an elementary schoolmistress, she became clerk in a telegraph office, but journalism soon called her, and some brilliant and sympathetic sketches of Neapolitan life, which appeared in various papers of Naples, Rome, and Turin, in 1878, attracted attention to the young author, the more so that in those early days of the Unity, Italians of the North were realizing how little they understood of their newly gained compatriots in the South, of



their qualities, their temperament, and their crying necessities. Before long she was a member of a well-known Roman paper, no longer existing, the *Capitan Fracassa*, the staff of which formed a group of the most brilliant writers of the period, and were the last true Bohemians in the journalistic world of Italy. Her first sketches were followed by a novel published in 1880, called *Fantasia*, in which, as in *Cuore Infermo*, notwithstanding her youth, the authoress's minute powers of observation and brilliant intuition enabled her to make a relentless pathological study of diseased types of modern womanhood. Among her many other works are the *Storia di una Monica*, *Beatrice*, *Le Amanti* (Lovers), *Two Souls*, *The Life of Riccardo Joanna*, and the *Conquest of Rome*, in the two last of which she paints respectively journalistic and political life in the Italian Capital; but her finest and most successful books are those such as *Il Ventre di Napoli*, *Il Paese di Cuccagna*, and *Terno Secco*, in which, with a fidelity born of intimate knowledge, and an unquenchable love and sympathy, she reveals to the world the social, economic, and moral plague spots of the beautiful Queen of the Mediterranean, while at the same time she makes us realize the bright intelligence, the love of beauty, the simple but heroic cheerfulness, the human kindness and self-sacrifice of which even the degraded are capable. In the *Land of Cocagne* we see how every class of society in Naples is poisoned by the mania for gambling on the State Lottery, and the degrading superstitions and cruel usury to which it gives rise;

how the *lazzaroni* and the poor seamstress deny themselves food in order to play ; the prosperous shopkeeper ruins his business by using his capital every week for the lottery ; how, even in the upper classes, the Marchese Carlo Cavalcante is ready to immolate his wife, his daughter, and his own honour to the will-o'-the-wisp that never fails to promise him unearned wealth and fortune. As a rule, Matilde Serao may be said to belong to the realistic school, but, perhaps influenced by her admiration for Fogazzaro, she has written some, such as *All' Erta Sentinella*, in which a sickly child arouses such a passion of devotion in a parricide convict that the hardened and unrepentant delinquent commits suicide in order to follow the child to the grave ; and *Il Paese di Gesù*, in which she strives after a more ideal tone, and describes the sentimental emotions aroused by a visit to the land of Palestine ; but she soon returned to her natural and sincere style, and in *Suor Giovanna della Croce* she describes with pitiless, unvarnished truth the sufferings and humiliations of a simple, helpless nun whom the suppression of her convent has forced to return to a hard and cruel world in which there is no place for her. One of Signora Serao's last novels is a powerful one called *Dopo il Perdono*, which has been dramatized in Paris, and which portrays the workings of the mind of a woman, who, having sinned against her husband and been forgiven, returns to her lover, although she no longer cares for him, unable to endure the generosity and at the same time the coldness of the former.

Her canvas is almost too crowded with detail,

and her style too prolix to appeal to northern readers, but Matilde Serao has reflected with marvellous vividness and accuracy the qualities, the temperament, and the life of Southern Italy of her day and generation,—a time which many reasons combined to make one of transition, and of which the salient characteristics are unlikely to survive for long.

The best known among Italian women poets is Ada Negri, born at Lodi in Lombardy, in 1870. Her mother was a factory hand, and she herself, while earning the miserable pittance which is doled out to the elementary schoolmistress in a poor village, gained fame and friends by the fiery protest of her two first volumes, *Fatalità* and *Tempesta*, in which she sings with simple sincerity and passionate sympathy the narrowness and misery of her own life, and the sordid sufferings and sorrows of the toiling masses around her. Her love and pity for the poor and friendless drove her to fierce indignation against what seemed to her the selfishness and contemptible idleness of the richer classes, and she pours forth floods of lava-like indignation at their heartless indifference to the misfortunes of the helpless victims of poverty, disease, and death. In the last fifteen years only one other volume has come from her pen, *Maternità*, in which she hymns the joys and sorrows of motherhood, while from the sheltered harbour of her married life with Signor Garlanda, a rich manufacturer, she interests herself in the position of her fellow-women and the limitations and injustice under which they labour.

Grazia Deledda has in her work the rough and

almost half-savage atmosphere of her beloved native island, Sardinia, which it may be said that she has revealed to the world, Italian as well as foreign. She comes from Nuoro, the wildest part of the wild island, where she was born in 1873. She also began her career in the newspapers, writing with originality of her peasants, but she soon passed to more important productions, turning her attention to novel-writing, depicting with startling reality the life, feelings, and struggles of the Sardinians, and bringing out their most pathetic and genial qualities. No one better than she has given an idea of these modern centaurs, who love their horses better than themselves. The description of a rural fête in her book, *The Road to Evil*, is a masterpiece, the races of the daring horsemen making her men readers alive with emotion and women tremble with fear. She has described the psychological condition of a population unknown and consequently often misjudged, painting these descendants of Napoleon's best fighters, and the daring sailors from whom the whole coast of the Mediterranean has no secrets, and has introduced to the world the quaint customs and costumes of Sardinia, one of the few lands where the natives have not yet lost their picturesqueness and individuality. Her first romance was *An Honest Soul*, and among other well-known ones are *Justice*, *The Old Man of the Mountain*, etc. Her *Nostalgia* was translated into English, but it treats, not of her beloved Sardinia, but of the commonplace, sordid life of the lower middle-class Government employé in Rome.



GRAZIA DELEDDA



## CHAPTER XIV

### ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

The monument to Victor Emmanuel II—The Campanile of Venice—The capacity of Italians for plastic art—Statuary commemorative of the Unification—Painters from the time of Morelli and Palizzi to our day—The Exhibitions in Venice

ONCE united, Italy felt the need of affirming the great event and perpetuating it to posterity in her buildings and monuments. A fresh impetus was given to all Italian towns, and especially to Rome, which, besides being the historic Metropolis, had to become the living modern Capital of a great country. The result of this has been an immense number of memorials to the heroes of the Unification, some of which are owed to the finest sculptors of the period, but others, while showing a praiseworthy intention on the part of their perpetrators, do not contribute to the art education of the people. The apotheosis of Italian independence is to be found in the monument to King Victor Emmanuel, inaugurated on June 4, 1912, on the Capitoline Hill, and which dominates Rome from every side. This immense erection, by which United Italy desires to assert her presence and permanence in

the Eternal City, is well worthy, with its noble lines and classic proportions, to compare with the remains of the Imperial Cæsars or the glories of the Renaissance. Designed a quarter of a century ago, when he was only twenty-seven years of age, by Count Sacconi, an architect of genius, who unfortunately died before his *magnum opus* was finished, the building is said to have already cost L. 2,000,000, and before it is entirely completed, with all the sculpture and decorations in place, some years at least, and perhaps half as much again in money, will be required. Though Greek in type, the multiplicity of statuary groups, commemorative monuments, bas-reliefs, columns, trophies, and emblems recalls the ancient Roman taste for decoration and splendour. Situated on the slope of the Capitol, in the very heart of Rome, this memorial of United Italy has been isolated, the surrounding houses pulled down, and even the little Palazzetto di Venezia, adjoining the great palace which is the seat of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, has been transplanted, in order to give an uninterrupted view of the monument down the Corso, one mile to the Porta del Popolo at the end, and out to the ancient Via Flaminia. Though some may regret the injury to the mediaeval convent of the Ara Coeli, and the Tower of Paul III at the end of the Corso, which was destroyed in order to make room for the monument, it must be acknowledged that Sacconi's pile is one of the finest architectural achievements of modern days, and nobly embodies the ideals and struggles of an heroic epoch, enabling the present genera-



tion, as never before, to realize what the marble temples were like which once crowned the hills of Rome.

Among the many palaces and ministries which have sprung up like mushrooms in the Eternal City since it became the Capital of United Italy, some of the most noteworthy are the Palace of Fine Arts, one of the first to be built, designed by a Roman architect, Pio Piacentini, in the neo-Classic style ; the immense barocco Palace of Justice, with its elaborate decorations, designed by Guglielmo Calderini, of Perugia, much admired by the Romans, though to northern eyes it seems wanting in the dignity and simplicity adapted to the use for which it was erected. It was over twenty years building, and has cost nearly a million and a half. Another Roman, Gaetano Koch, built the handsome palace of the Bank of Italy, in a mixed Classic and Renaissance style ; designed the Piombino Palace, now called the Palazzo Margherita, where the Queen-Mother resides ; and some of the new palaces of the Italian nobility in Rome. Modern Italian architects have distinguished themselves in the art of restoration, which is almost always carried out with knowledge and reverent care. Both profound learning and taste are to be found in Alfredo d'Andrade, who has devoted himself especially to this branch, and to whom is due an admirable copy of a fifteenth-century Piedmontese fortified house in the Valentine Park in Turin. A large number of valuable restorations are owed to Luca Beltrami, notably the magnificent one of the Sforza Castle in Milan, his native place. Another, who, though

first and foremost an excavator, may take rank with restorers, is Giacomo Boni, both in the Roman Forum and as first Director of the rebuilding of the famous Campanile in his native Venice, which fell on the 14th July 1902. Others, however, continued the latter work, and the resurrection of the tower, which had for over a thousand years witnessed the glories of the Queen of the Adriatic, was inaugurated on April 25, 1912, the fête day of St. Mark, the patron of the city.

The instinctive capacity of the Italians for plastic art is illustrated by the large number of sculptors who have risen above the crowd during the last thirty or forty years. To begin with those who were born in the island of Sicily, though the development of their art and their success was elsewhere, we may mention Benedetto Civiletti, born in Palermo in 1846. He came of a very poor family, but even in his youth showed such talent that Marquis di Rudinì, when Mayor of Palermo, gave him a pension to enable him to study in Florence. He soon became well known both in Italy and France, and Ernest Renan, as a proof of his admiration, gave him a copy of his *Vie de Jesus*, which inspired one of Civiletti's best works, "Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane," which was so highly thought of that the sculptor was decorated with the *Légion d'honneur* and was made a member of the Institute. One of his finest monuments is that to Victor Emmanuel in his native Palermo.

Domenico Trentacoste, a much younger man, was also born in Palermo, and is one of the most elegant and graceful of sculptors, his figures



INAUGURATION OF THE RESTORED CAMPANILE AT VENICE, 25TH APRIL, 1912



having all the Sicilian ardour coupled with the elegance of Tuscany and the finished art of Paris, the two capitals where he studied and lived. In his native Palermo a beautiful *Recollection* watches over the grave where his sister is buried; his gentle, delicate *Ophelia*, *Pia dei Tolomei*, bought by the painter Edwin Long; the fine *Niobe*, exhibited in Venice and bought by that city; the exquisite expressive boy's head, *At the Fountain*; his powerful *Cain*,\* and the lovely nude woman's figure, *Refused by the Sea*,\* are all examples of his admirable and characteristic talent.

Eugenio Maccagnani is from Lecce, in Apulia. He began studying by himself, carving wooden statuettes of saints, and developing, with but little teaching from outside, his remarkable versatility and power of modelling the human form. Much fine work of his is to be found in the Victor Emmanuel monument in Rome, where he worked for years with Sacconi in the plastic decorations, and where the statue of *War* and the powerful bas-reliefs for the base of the gigantic statue of the Liberator King are owed to him. Several of his smaller works are in the Gallery of Modern Art in the Metropolis, while his greatest monumental group is the equestrian statue to Garibaldi at Buenos Ayres.

One who has been called the "Michetti of Sculpture" is Constantino Barbella, born like the painter in the province of Chieti, whose popular statuettes, groups, and single figures generally

\* All sculptures and paintings marked \* are to be found in the National Gallery of Modern Art in Rome.

reflect with charm and originality picturesque scenes from the life of his native Abruzzi.

Francesco Jerace is a typical Neapolitan in the best sense. His power of characterization, his vitality, and the decorative quality of all he does, has made him widely popular. He has distinguished himself, particularly in genre figures, such as his *Guappetiello*, or Neapolitan street arab, who is the incarnation of reckless, impertinent, devil-may-care boyhood. His other and later works include funeral monuments, ideal statues, and the usual commemorations of great men, in all of which he shows grace and elegance combined with originality and a markedly modern spirit. His monument to Donizzetti has all these qualities, and in his large group of *The Romans*\* he shows his power of expressing strength and character.

Alfonso Balzico is one of those Neapolitans who infuses the exuberance and brightness of his native land into all his work. Among his best-known statues is the equestrian monument to Duke Ferdinand of Genoa, in Turin, which was much discussed because he represented the Prince on a horse in the act of falling under him.

The spontaneous genius and facile charm of the South is present in a high degree in the works of Vincenzo Gemito, whose delicate little statuettes are gems of observation and finish. His *Fisher Boy*, exhibited in Paris and bought by Meissonier, made him famous, and was followed by the equally successful *Water Seller*\* and many others. Sad to say, Gemito's artistic output was abruptly

checked by mental malady which kept him for many years apart from the stream of life, and although he has now recovered, his power of expression seems to have left him.

A link with the past is Scipione Tadolini, a Roman, the son of the beloved pupil of Canova, and whose works had a period of such fashion that his statue of the *Slave* was reproduced over forty times. He is the author of an equestrian statue to Bolivar, in the capital of Peru, and of the bust to Victor Emmanuel II, in the Hall of the Senate in Rome. His son, Giulio, although he began as a painter, surpassed his father, and among his numerous works which are to be found outside his own country are his *Cleopatra before Cæsar*, which is in London, and *Judith*, in New York. His best-known monuments are that to Victor Emmanuel, in Perugia, to Sarsfield, in Cordova, and above all his monument to Leo XIII, in the Church of St. John Lateran, in which he fused the grand style of the Renaissance with modern realism.

A Roman of the Romans is Ettore Ferrari, who in his vast production of sculpture has succeeded best when the subjects were in harmony with his Republican and Mazzinian ideals. He began with a group called *The Christian Martyrs*, and later designed the monument to Giordano Bruno in Rome, that to Garibaldi in Rovigo, and the allegory of the Revolution for the Victor Emmanuel monument, but it is said that his masterpiece will be the monument to Mazzini, in Rome, upon which he is now working, while that to Victor Emmanuel, in Venice, and to

Quintino Sella, opposite the Finance Ministry in Rome, are less happy.

Ettore Ximenes, who is Sicilian by birth and Roman by adoption, is one of the most original and dramatic modern sculptors, and has done much work, of which some of the best known are *The Pupils*,\* taken from De Amicis' book *Cuore*, the monument to General Belgrano in Buenos Ayres, that to Ciceruacchio, the workman patriot, in Rome, and the colossal *quadriga* for the Victor Emmanuel monument.

Ernesto Biondi comes from Morolo, a small village in the province of Rome. He was poor and struggling and unrecognized for many years, until his daring and clever work brought him to the front with the *Saturnalia*,\* which was bought and is now exhibited at the Gallery of Modern Art in Rome. Its almost brutal realism caused it to be refused admission to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, where the sculptor had been invited to send it. Almost equally painful in its way, but fine in modelling, is his *Misere Recluse*, a huge group of female prisoners, which was exhibited at the International Exhibition in Rome of 1911.

Emilio Gallori, a Tuscan by birth, studied in Florence and Naples, but his name is more connected with Rome, as he won the competition for the handsome and dignified equestrian statue of Garibaldi which overlooks the city from that Janiculum Hill, where the great leader fought with such heroic bravery in 1849.

The veteran Augusto Rivalta, Florentine by



adoption, fought for the cause of Italian independence and has frequently reproduced the figures of the heroes he followed, while among natives of the Tuscan capital are the Zocchi family—Emilio, whose statue of Michelangelo, bought by King Victor Emmanuel, was so popular as to be copied over a hundred times ; his son, Arnaldo, who won the competition for the statue of Czar Alexander II, erected at Sofia ; and Emilio's cousin, Cesare, who has produced many patriotic statues, and that to Dante, which stands in the “irredenta” town of Trent.

Certainly the “grand old man” of Italian sculpture is Giulio Monteverde, who was born in Genoa, but has lived and worked in Rome. Though over seventy years of age, he is still in touch with modern feeling, and his apotheosis of science in his *Franklin* and *Jenner* statues proved that even the most seemingly inartistic subject can, if properly treated, be made artistic and inspiring. Whether in conventional celebrations of the heroes of Italian Unity or in funeral monuments like that to the Duke and Duchess of Galliera in Genoa, he gave the same impression of noble ideas united to technical competence.

Some of the finest and most profoundly thoughtful sculptors of Italy are to be found in Piedmont,—Calandra, Bistolfi, and Canonica,—who seem to translate into marble the strength of character, intellect, and competence that distinguishes the natives of that northern province. Davide Calandra, born in 1856 in Turin, studied under Balzico and various other masters, but soon developed his own

original and virile artistic personality. He distinguished himself alike in small figures, such as *The Poacher*\* and *The Plough*,\* and in many grandiose monuments of which that to the late Duke of Aosta best sums up the sculptor's genius, showing of how much vitality and feeling marble can be made the vehicle.

Leonardi Bistolfi, who has profound faith in the inspirations of his own day, has translated his complex individuality and profound love of beauty into extremely varying forms, from the picturesque realism of *The Washerwomen*, and the simple beauty of *The Fields*, and *It rains*,\* to the spiritual ideality of funeral groups, in which he interprets the deepest feelings of human nature in pure and ideal forms.

Pietro Canonica, who is some ten years younger than the two last mentioned, differs from them in many of his characteristics. His work has a delicacy, a soft freshness, that makes him pre-eminently suited to portray the virginal and elusive beauty of extreme youth, though he has also been most successful with his portrait busts of older people, such as that of the Duchess of Genoa, mother of Queen Margherita, and he has contributed his share to the decorations of the Victor Emmanuel monument.

Venice has produced comparatively few sculptors. Antonio Dal Zotto has done various praiseworthy groups and statues, including that to Goldoni, in his native town, which is full of grace and charm. Urbano Nono has exhibited sincere and vigorous figures, typically his *Boy throwing a Stone*, but

the Venetian sculptor whose name is more widely known is Enrico Chiaradia, who spent nearly twenty years of his life on the colossal statue of the Re Galant'uomo which crowns the Victor Emmanuel monument in Rome, and which was finished after his death by Gallori.

The painter whose work was the finest expression of Italian art during the last half of the nineteenth century was Domenico Morelli, who, while an example of the gradual and consistent development of the character and work of a great artist, will also be remembered for the quickening power which his noble conception and devotion to truth had upon the younger generation. When the Academy of Fine Arts was reorganized, Morelli, together with his friend Filippo Palizzi, who became President of the new institute, devoted themselves to teaching the students, inspiring them with living and progressive ideals of art, the influence of which were felt not only in the kingdom of Naples but throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula. Morelli's distinguishing qualities were depth and greatness of thought, his power of translating it into original and harmonious forms, and his magical mastery of the problems of atmosphere and light. He died in 1901.

Another typical Neapolitan painter who studied under Morelli was Eduardo Dalbono, who reflected in almost all his works the sky, the sea, the streets, the varied human types and human happiness of his native city. His pictures, among which may be mentioned *The Pink Mist*, *The Vow to Our Lady of Carmel*, *The Shore of Mergellina*,

*Sailors Hauling a Boat*, and *A Fair Night*, though conventional in their point of view, show imagination, freshness, and soft harmonious colouring. Many of them are known through Goupil's reproductions.

Giuseppe Sciuti was born at Zafferano' Etnea in Sicily, and struggled against overwhelming poverty and family opposition to develop his bent as an artist. He now lives in Rome, and is essentially a decorator in style even in his pictures, such as *Restauratio Aerari*\* and the *Temple of Venus*.\*

Francesco Lojacono, born in 1841 at Palermo, studied under Palizzi, fought for the liberty of his country under Garibaldi, and was taken prisoner at Aspromonte, where the leader was wounded by Italian soldiers. Lojacono was a prolific artist, and many of his pictures reach a high level of feeling and individuality.

The most renowned painter of the many who owe their teaching to Morelli and Palizzi is Francesco Paolo Michetti, a native of the wild and picturesque Abruzzi district, born at Tocco Casauria, near Chieti, in 1851, whose pictures, in their vivid originality, luxuriant imagination, and gorgeous colouring, seem to be the very incarnation of the southern love of life, the delight in beauty, colour, light, and keenness of sensation. Michetti's art is eminently spontaneous, daring, and even revolutionary in technique, but the brilliance of his colouring, the grace and feeling for beauty of his figures, the luminous sunlight in which they are bathed, and the power of truth and

thought which they show, make him one of the most notable artistic personalities of to-day. He sprang into fame in 1877 with his *Corpus Domini Procession at Chieti*, now in Berlin, which showed all his distinguishing qualities of colour, movement, and feeling. He confirmed his position the next year with the *Spring of Love*, exhibited in Paris, in which, against a dazzling background of sea, sky, and flowers bathed in sunshine, crowds of beautiful women and children disported themselves on the shore. At Turin in 1880 he showed three fine pictures, *Palm Sunday*, *The Tunny Fishers*, and *Morticelli*, in which perhaps Michetti allowed his fancy and joy in colour to run riot at the expense of sincerity and truth, and while striving to give the impression made on his own mind by the scenes he depicted, gave an effect of exaggeration and almost of insincerity.

Although the fresh pagan joy is absent from it, perhaps the finest expression of Michetti's genius is to be found in *The Vow*.\* Here he seems to reveal to us the very soul of the wild, passionate, picturesque people of the mountainous Abruzzi, with the mystic, hysterical fervour of their religious faith. The scene is laid in a church, and a stream of peasants, men and women, evidently in fulfilment of a vow, crawl on their hands and knees towards a silver reliquary on the ground in front of the altar, and as they crawl they lick the ground with their tongues, leaving traces of blood on the pavement and on the richly jewelled saint's head which is their goal, while spectators, holding lighted candles, watch them with ecstatic devotion. The poignant

truth to nature of the almost animal faces of the devotees, the gorgeous oriental colouring and the lurid effects of light and shade, the strong broad brushwork and the masterly certainty of intention, make this a remarkable picture that holds the attention and memory.

His *Pastoral*\* is a delicate graceful picture of feeling and finish. Since *The Vow*, Michetti has painted no large canvas, but in *The Maimed* and *The Serpents*, exhibited in Paris in 1900, and in *The Daughter of Jorio*, the powerful, tragic picture which suggested to d'Annunzio his play called by the same name, he has again reflected the mystic, barbaric type of his native country. Though some of Michetti's work is spoiled by haste and too impetuous originality, and though he cannot be said to be as fine a draughtsman as he is colourist, his pictures palpitate with life, and, ignoring the usual canons of art, he has expressed an individuality full of vivid feeling and bathed in a glory of colour.

Valerico Laccetti comes like Michetti from the province of Chieti in the Abruzzi, and is one of Filippo Palizzi's many successful pupils. He began as an animal painter, but his subjects have been very various, as he has produced historical and realistic works, and has been one of the numerous artists who have painted the memory-haunted Roman Campagna. The picture by which he is best known is *Christus Imperat*.\*

Another native of the Abruzzi is Teofilo Patini, who feels deeply the tragedy of humble life and the sufferings of the poor. Many of his pictures are a

stern protest and warning to the rich and happy to realize and remember the grinding misery and sorrow upon which the fabric of social life is built. In 1881, at Milan, he exhibited *The Heir*,\* a sombre, powerful picture showing a peasant lying dead on the floor of a miserable room. A woman crouches weeping in one corner, while a naked child beside her babbles and plays, unconscious of the martyrdom to which he is born.

As the southern artists reflect the beauty and brightness of their lovely coast and the careless, pleasure-loving life of their people, so the art of the Roman province is almost invariably tinged by the fascination of the Campagna country, with its elusive but pervading beauty, its ruins, its aloofness from modern life, and its characteristic old-world inhabitants, both human and animal. Perhaps this spirit of romance appeals specially to northern races, and for this reason the work of Roman artists is better known in England and also in America than any other, beginning with Giovanni Costa, another old Garibaldian, remembered in England as a friend of Sir Frederick Leighton. He was almost the first to give, instead of the typical classic Roman landscape of the past, a picture much truer to nature and yet steeped in the poetic impressions of the artist's own soul. For years he lived in the *Castelli Romani*, as the villages on the slopes of the Albanian Hills are called, till he imbibed the very atmosphere of the country. Many of his pictures, particularly the *Olives at Sunset*, with distant blue mountains, a favourite subject of his, are full of a poetic charm entirely his own.

To the same generation belonged Alessandro Castelli, who died in 1902, whose numerous works were known in England, France, and Germany, several examples of which are to be found in the National Gallery of Rome.

Enrico Coleman, although the son of an English artist, was a true Roman by birth and feeling. He loved and studied the Roman Campagna till the scenes he depicted appear almost like living reflections seen in the still surface of some pool of water. The quaint buffaloes of the Maremma country, the game little Roman horses, the *butteri*, the wild Pan-like men who tend them, with their shaggy sheep-skin legs and their centaur-like seat on a horse, transport us into an earlier, wilder world than that of to-day.

Another artist, bearing a foreign name, but who was more Italian than the Italians in his love of the Eternal City, its picturesqueness, and beautiful surroundings, was Ettore Roesler-Franz, who has fixed for ever the quaint streets and irregular architecture of the past in two series called *Vanishing Rome*, one of which was bought by the municipality and forms a permanent record of the almost mediæval charm of papal days. He spent much of his time at Tivoli, and his pictures of the Villa of Hadrian and the beautiful Villa d'Este, with its cypresses and its stone terraces overgrown with roses are to be found in many English homes.

Yet another devout lover of the strange bewitching country that rolls up to the very gates of Rome is Onorato Carlandi, who, though well known as a painter in oils, is among the great living painters in



water-colour, and it is through his work in that medium that he is best known, both in his own country and in England and in America, where so many of his pictures are to be found. His wonderful technical mastery of the medium, combined with delicate colouring and sense of beauty, make his work admired by artists as well as popular with the mere art lover. His exhibitions are well known in Paris and England, and he has felt and reproduced the charm of English, Scotch, and Welsh scenery.

Giulio Aristide Sartorio is a brilliant, original personality, touched by the influence of the pre-Raphaelites, who in his beautiful landscapes, generally representing the Campagna or the Pontine Marshes, often painted in a mixed medium of pastel and body colour, gets vivid effects of atmosphere and colouring. He is now engaged in very different work, as he is painting a huge symbolic frieze, 420 yards long, to decorate the new hall of the Italian Chamber. The figures are painted with masterly strength and freedom.

One of the most salient personalities of modern Italian art is Antonio Mancini, a man of genius, who tries to solve the great problems of light and atmosphere by any means, however unconventional, that occur to him, and in his desire for intensity of colour and light makes use of the shine and sparkle of solid bodies, such as precious stones, gold, silver, glass, or tin, to enhance his effects; or paints a fantastic medley of richly coloured but otherwise meaningless objects as background or surroundings. Looked at from the right distance, his pictures give marvellous impressions of the modifications of the

surrounding atmosphere on the figures he portrays ; and though his work is very unequal, at his best he shows an originality, a certainty of vision, and a power of delineating the inner individuality of his subject that is unequalled.

Cesare Maccari, though born in Siena in 1840, is Roman by adoption, much of his more important work having been executed in the palaces and public buildings of the Capital, and although somewhat conventional and old-fashioned in style, is solid and well composed. He painted in the Royal chapel of the Sudario frescoes commemorating five beatified saints of the House of Savoy, and in the great hall of the Quirinal Palace is his *Love Crowning the Graces*. He decorated the hall of the Senate with suitable classical scenes, and it was while he was painting the ceiling of the new Palace of Justice with allegorical figures that he was struck with the illness from which he never recovered.

During the last half of the nineteenth century a group of artists were to be found in Tuscany who received the nickname of *Macchiaioli*, who as a body had this in common—an ardent desire to reproduce in their paintings the actual impression made upon them by Nature without reference to conventional canons of art or to the deadening influence of the masters of the past. They held that the artist's first duty is to develop and encourage his own individuality, to enter into direct communion with Nature, and express with simplicity and truth what he sees. One of the most distinguished exponents of these theories is Telemaco Signorini, who was born of a family of painters, and

the artistic atmosphere that surrounded him took the place of regular definite teaching. As a mere boy he was out for Garibaldi, and his earliest pictures reflected the military scenes that he then saw. His distinguishing qualities as an artist are love of truth and indifference to the opinions of others, and he soon developed a name as a revolutionary, which his *Venetian Ghetto* accentuated, rousing keen discussion. His most famous picture of that type was *The Madwoman*, but in common with his fellow *Macchiaioli* many of his pictures had much less of "subject," since one of their aims was the realization of the picturesqueness and beauty even in common things. Signorini's work is much appreciated in England and Scotland; the quaint and tortuous streets of the Old Town of Edinburgh roused his keen admiration, and were the subject of some of his finest pictures. It would be rank heresy to speak of a *Macchiaiolo* having pupils or followers, but during the last generation many of the younger Florentine artists sought to work out their artistic salvation on the same lines as Signorini, and their work is characterized in greater or less degree by the same sincerity, freshness, and vigour.

Giacomo Grosso, born at Cambiano, in Piedmont, in 1860, is the most daring and original portrait painter of modern Italy. His genius has all the strength and force of character that is found in the mountainous north, and his daring experiments in colour, especially in his portraits, their fine quality, their insight, and their psychological power, will send him down to posterity as an artist of great ability and intellectual force.

In 1884 he exhibited at Turin *The Cell of the Madwoman*, inspired by Verga's novel, *The Story of a Blackcap*, in which the sombre black-and-white colouring seemed to reflect the tragic misery of the poor lunatics ; and eleven years later he exhibited another subject-picture which roused a storm of criticism and discussion, *The Last Meeting*—in which a man lies dead upon his bier surrounded by the different women who have known and loved him. Though the colouring is fine, the crude sensationalism of the subject and its questionable taste make it hardly worthy of a great artist. The present Pope, then Patriarch of Venice, earnestly desired that a painting that seemed to him so evil should not appear in the Exhibition of his beloved city. The Hanging Committee, who judged it a fine work of art, insisted on its admission, and when it was suggested that the decision should be entrusted to the novelist, Antonio Fogazzaro, whose refinement and deeply religious spirit was well known, the Patriarch Sarto felt convinced that his point of view would undoubtedly prevail. Fogazzaro, however, who was a cultured critic in art matters as well as a moralist, considered that Grosso's picture, though unpleasant in subject, did not deserve to be boycotted, and it was consequently exhibited, and it is said that from that time dated Pius X's disapproval of the great novelist, which ended in the *Santo* and *Leila* being placed upon the *Index*. Grosso, however, is first and foremost a portrait painter, and it will be by such pictures as his *Virginia Reiter*, a glory of yellow ; *Signora Zorn*, in black ; his *Princess Laetitia*, the *Por-*



GIACOMO GROSSO  
FROM A PAINTING BY HIMSELF



*trait of his Daughter*, all exhibited at Venice during the first decade of the twentieth century, and many others, that his claim to remembrance will rest.

Giovanni Segantini, one of the glories of modern Italian art, was born in the debateable land of the Trentino, in 1858, and, like so many of the most distinguished Italian artists, came of the people and from the poorest of the poor. Starvation, bereavement, and ill-treatment did not suffice to extinguish the flame of his genius, though it made him owe the unfolding of his original and individual talent to self-development rather than to the teaching of the schools. Through his entire life he was obsessed by two feelings, his intimate sympathy with the lives, the labour, the suffering of the poor, and his sense of the grand and noble beauty of the mountains which in his native country formed the background for the humble lives he studied. Because he understood to the uttermost he was able to open the eyes of his compatriots to the intrinsic beauty of the patience, the endurance, the hopeless sadness of the primitive existences he portrayed. His peculiar and unusual style and colouring delayed his recognition by the general public for a time, but Segantini continued calmly on his way unheeding, working out his ideals in the lonely Alpine heights in which he loved to make his home, and expressing the strength and poetry of his artistic temperament in an immense number of pictures which won eventual recognition from their profound truth to nature and tender poetry. To mention a few of his works among so many—*After a Storm in the Alps*;

*An Impression of Wind; Alpine Fields in Spring*, which is full of colour and light; *The Last Labour of the Day; At the Bar*;\* *The Sheep-Shearing; The Drinking-Trough* one of his finest examples of artistic strength and sincerity; and, most poignantly pathetic of all, *The Return to the Native Village*, a funeral scene among the Alps.

Filippo Carcano is a painter of the younger Lombard school. His pictures are strong and truthful, full of careful observation, but broad and even impressionist in treatment. He achieves beautiful effects of atmosphere, and expresses with sincerity and directness the impressions he receives from nature. His work gained favourable notice in the Paris Exhibition of 1889, and his *Piazza di San Marco, Marina*, and many others are full of light, colour, and perception.

The Fine Art Exhibitions which have been held during the last seventeen years in Venice have done much to encourage the development of Italian art, and Venice herself boasts a considerable number of painters who not unworthily reflect the charm of that most picturesque of cities.

Pietro Fragiaco, born in Trieste, is one of the most typical of Venetian painters, to whose joy in the mystic, brilliant, beautiful atmosphere of his adopted city we owe many studies of her varied moods,—his poetical *Silence, In the Wind, Repose*,\* *The Piazza of St. Mark* in the Venetian Gallery, *Winter*, and many others.

More modern in type is Cesare Laurenti, also a Venetian by adoption, who works successfully in



oil, water-colour, and pastel, whose broad and strong technique and feeling for beauty and intention is illustrated by his *Via Aspra*,\* in the National Gallery of Rome, where is also to be found the *Sposalizio*, and *The Gondolier's Lunch* of another Venetian, Alessandro Milesi.

A whole family who devote themselves to transcribing with sincerity and charm the beauties of landscape and sea around them are called Ciardi. Guglielmo Ciardi's pictures have been exhibited all over Italy and are popular in both Paris and London. His most ambitious landscape, *Messidoro*, gained a gold medal at Exhibitions in Nice and in Berlin in 1886. His son Giuseppe, trained by the father, shows great strength and the same soft and delicate atmosphere. His daughter Emma also paints dainty but conventional Watteau landscapes.

Luigi Nono is another distinctively Venetian painter, whose warm colouring and power of expression, combined with a broad and strong technique, have produced some very successful pictures. His *Refugium Peccatorum*\* is strong, and a beautiful rendering of a hackneyed subject: Before a statue of the Madonna, of which only the lower part can be seen, kneels a girl of the people in a very abandonment of grief. The wild and stormy sunset of a wet autumn day, the rich colour of the girl's dress, of the flowers which she offers to the Madonna, and the flickering light of the lamp, make a powerful, harmonious whole full of feeling and poetry. Another equally successful picture was his *Ruth*, exhibited at Venice.

## CHAPTER XV

### MUSIC AND ARCHÆOLOGY

"The land of music and song"—Giuseppe Verdi as composer and patriot—Boito—Mascagni—Puccini—Leoncavallo—Franchetti—Modern Italian songs—Church music—From Mustafâ to Perosi—Pius X and the reform of the musical service—Archæological riches—Magna Græcia, Etruria, and Latium—The Roman Forum and the Palatine—Pompeii—Herculaneum—The Forma Urbis—Christian archæology

#### Music

THE country which has so often been called "the land of music and song," has had in the last half-century one of her most prolific periods, especially in operatic music. Giuseppe Verdi, that colossal and versatile genius overshadowed the glory and fame of Rossini, who for a time it seemed would be considered the greatest composer born south of the Alps. Verdi had the additional fascination of being an ardent patriot as well as musician, and during all the years of the struggle for independence, his music, prohibited by the rulers of the seven States into which Italy was then divided, was like a clarion call for liberty and freedom, and even nowadays some of his operas are banned in

the Italian provinces still subject to Austria, or at least the words of the most expressive of his invocations to Liberty have some meaningless jingle substituted for them by the Austrian censor.

For sixty years, until the end of the nineteenth century, Verdi poured out a never-ending stream of operas, the most varied and musical that any composer has produced, which, even as they gradually developed a more modern and scientific character, were still full of all the old Italian melody and charm. This giant whom the Italians venerated and adored, considering him almost as the tutelar genius of their country, was already octogenarian when he wrote his last powerful opera, *Falstaff*, the libretto of which was owed to another great composer and poet, Arrigo Boito, one of the most enlightened and complex artistic temperaments of modern Italy, whose opera *Mefistofele* is still popular, and who is said to have had ready for production for the last twenty-five years a masterpiece called *Nero*, but his fastidious self-criticism and despair of writing anything worthy to stand beside the work of his great master, Verdi, is such that it was only in 1912 that he agreed to have it produced.

One of Verdi's characteristics was his disdain for honours and publicity, pushed to such an extent as to make him almost rude, and induce him to lead what might be called a life of bearish unsociability, although, as is often the case, he was exceedingly affectionate and tender to his intimates. He was made a Senator, but he never went to the Senate except to take his oath—indeed, the honour was for

some time postponed because fame as a musician not being included among the titles to that dignity, it was necessary to wait until his fortune was such as to render him liable to the very moderate taxation which is required in order to be made a Senator in the category of the rich, a position he did not attain until quite late in life. For the same reason the Collar of the Annunziata, the highest Italian decoration, which entitles the wearer to call himself the cousin of the King, could not be conferred on Giuseppe Verdi because genius is not included in the necessary qualifications for that distinction. After the first night of *Falstaff* at the Costanzi Theatre, when Rome seemed mad with enthusiasm and the whole world bowed reverently before the veteran composer, it was suggested to give to Verdi a title of nobility. Verdi telegraphed to his friend Ferdinando Martini, himself a distinguished literary man, and then a member of the Cabinet, earnestly deprecating anything of the kind, and the Minister reassured him; but it was currently reported that the idea had been abandoned because when suggested to King Humbert he replied shortly, "When a man is called Verdi, to give him a title would be superfluous"! Verdi's work will last and will delight many generations to come, as was proved this year when one of his famous operas, *Aida*, which he wrote to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal, was represented in Egypt, in the open air, at the foot of the Pyramids, and notwithstanding the anti-Italian feeling existing among the Egyptians in consequence of the war which Italy is waging against their co-religionists in Tripoli, had an

enormous success and was a fresh apotheosis of the celebrated maestro.

Music in Italy has always been and probably will always be first and foremost melodious. That is what the people feel, what satisfies their musical sense, which although natural is often highly developed, especially among the lower classes. Thus Verdi is their idol, and Mascagni, Puccini, Leoncavallo became demi-gods in the *Cavalleria Rusticana*, in the *Bohème*, in *Pagliacci*, all of which go straight to the heart of the people, speaking the musical language that they understand and representing their ideals; but they are a failure whenever they abandon this path to follow the foreign fashions of the day. The boatmen of Sardinia still sing Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and although the production of local dialect songs is perhaps larger in Italy than in any other country, and some Sicilian tarantellas, Neapolitan serenades and Venetian barcarole are really masterpieces of their kind, still, the boy in the street will, in any Italian town, whistle or hum a duet of the *Trovatore*, or the Intermezzo of *Cavalleria*.

Modern Italian songs are heard all over the world. Some of the best are due to Rotoli, who lived and died in America, and to Sir Paolo Tosti, who has spent most of his musical career and has married in England.

Pietro Mascagni and Ruggiero Leoncavallo burst from obscurity into fame in one night with their respective operas, *Cavalleria Rusticana* and *Pagliacci*, which have had immense popularity in every country in the world. Both composers have

practically followed the same parabola; the great success of their first opera led them to attempt something which they thought was to be even greater, but both were unable to reach again the same height, and Mascagni with his *Amico Fritz* and *The Rantzau*, and Leoncavallo with *The Medici*, did not add vital operas to the Italian stage, although the music was more careful and more scientific but lacked the inspiration and the melody of the first. Both have risen again, especially the former, with *Iris* and *Isabeau*. Giacomo Puccini, who like Mascagni is a Tuscan, has kept a greater equilibrium in his operatic production than any other composer of the modern Italian school, and, in fact, with the exception of his second opera, *Edgar*, which was not favourably received, all the others have been a success, although their music has a certain sameness.

The list of the leading modern Italian composers of opera would not be complete without mentioning Baron Alberto Franchetti, who comes of a Jewish family and is a brother of the politician, Baron Leopoldo. His most successful operas were *Asrael* and *Germania*, which are true lyric dramas and very rich in instrumentation.

Italy has also been the centre of Church music, which has passed from periods of splendour to periods of great decadence, and out of the latter condition has been raised, especially through the efforts and taste of the last two Popes, more particularly of Pius X, who has always been a lover of music, and who, contrary to the etiquette of the Vatican, admits to his pontifical table



GIACOMO PUCCINI





Mgr. Lorenzo Perosi, who, although he is now over forty, is still called "the young and famous composer" of the best Church oratories written in Italy in our days. The greatest papal musical institution is the choir of the Sistine Chapel, which under Leo XIII had as director the celebrated Maestro Domenico Mustafà, who died at the beginning of 1912, at the age of eighty-three. Being an eunuch, he had begun his career as a singer in the Church choirs where that type of boy's voice was greatly in request, as women are not permitted to take part in liturgical music. Soon, however, Mustafà distinguished himself as a composer, and wrote for the centennial of St. Peter the celebrated greeting to the Pope, *Tu es Petrus*, sung by over 600 voices divided into three choruses,—one composed of tenors and basses, which he placed at the entrance to the church; another, of 250 boys taking the soprano part, who were lodged in the dome; and the remainder, which were contralto, in the centre of the church. The effect was so great that, notwithstanding the presence of the Pope and the Sacred College, the immense crowd in the Basilica burst into applause. The music he wrote for the funeral of Leo XIII's parents was also given at that of Verdi. Although his appointment was that of perpetual director of the Sistine choir, when he understood that the star of the then very young Don Perosi was rising, he willingly ceded his post to his worthy successor. He retired and died at his villa at Montefalco near Perugia, not far from the small village of Sellano where he was born.

As this generation of men die out in the papal choir they are substituted by boys who take the soprano parts as in the English Church. Mgr. Perosi has been a great assistance to Pius X in his reform of the musical service, banishing the kind of operatic performances which had gradually crept in and transformed the religious functions into almost theatrical representations, bringing back the music to its noble and pure origin, to that Gregorian chant which in its plainness is undoubtedly more solemn and adapted for worship.

#### ARCHÆOLOGY

United Italy found herself faced with a gigantic task in the care and protection of the artistic and archæological riches with which she is still so lavishly endowed. For centuries Italy has been a mine from which succeeding generations of travellers and art lovers have carried away objects of every kind ; but notwithstanding all this, throughout the length and breadth of the country, in galleries, museums, or private collections, in churches, palaces, or public buildings, she is still possessed of a vast accumulation of beauty and antiquity which has necessitated a crowd of officials for its mere scientific cataloguing and arrangement, and for the adequate upkeep, restoration and protection of which Italy would have needed to have been a very Cræsus among the nations. From 1870 onwards a succession of laws and regulations have been passed to protect from alteration or injury the national monuments, and

to prevent the alienation of the unique and priceless treasures which are the patrimony of the race rather than of any private individual, forbidding their exodus from the country, and giving the State the right of pre-emption if those who have inherited them from their ancestors are no longer able or willing to keep them. Buried within the soil is the history of the marvellous races to which Italy has successively given birth, from the pre-historic and prehellenic civilisation which archæological science has lately revealed, through the mighty development of Ancient Rome, to the darkness of the Middle Ages and the uprising of new light in the Renaissance. To uncover the vestiges of Italy's vanished peoples, and unearth the remains of Magna Græcia, Etruria and Lazio, would require the labours of an army of experts and cost millions of money which Italy cannot afford to devote to that purpose. She has decided that she cannot accept the assistance of other nations in this colossal work, which means that its final achievement must be left to a generation yet to come, but that much has been accomplished during the years since the unification is owing to the enthusiasm and love of science of many of her sons, who often give their lives to historical or archæological research for a salary which barely suffices to provide daily bread. Among such is Teresio Rivoira, whose epoch-making work on Lombard architecture is of world fame.

During the last generation many of the younger Italian scholars have devoted themselves in all provinces to prehistoric and ethnographic problems,

one of the pioneers in this work being Professor Luigi Pigorini, who has so greatly enhanced the scientific value of the great Kircheriano Museum in Rome, of which he is director. Another Roman Museum which, after many vicissitudes, has received during late years valuable contributions bearing on these studies is the beautiful Villa di Papa Giulio, built in 1550 for Pope Julius III by Vignola with the assistance of Vasari and Michelangelo, and which, re-arranged by Professors Collini and Della Seta, now contains a magnificent collection of Greek vases and Etruscan and Italic remains. In Sicily splendid archæological museums have been founded at Palermo and Syracuse, the latter containing a remarkably complete series of antiquities dating from the primitive peoples of 2000 B.C. to Christian and Byzantine days. The directors of these museums, Professors Antonino Salinas and Paolo Orsi, have superintended valuable excavations all over the island, while the strange prehistoric Nuraghi and Tombs of the Giants in Sardinia have also been studied. While it is impossible to mention all the local excavations, the discovery of the remains of the unique Ionic temple of the fifth century B.C. at Locri, on the south coast of Calabria, must not be omitted, where were found wonderful archaic terracottas in purest Greek style. The ancient central European civilisation was illustrated by excavations of Italic temples at Falerii (Civita Castellana), at Alatri and Florence; while in 1888, at Marzabotto near Bologna, Professor Brizio, the director of the new Etruscan Museum of that place, laid bare an Italic

city dating from about 500 B.C., and the new Etruscan Topographical Museum in Florence, arranged by Cav. Milani, sums up the history of the Etruscan race in the northern part of the peninsula. The archæological excavations, however, which are of world-wide interest, are those of the Roman Forum and the Palatine, and those which have been steadily continued at Pompei, where methodic, scientific investigation has taken the place of the casual isolated excavations of Bourbon days, and has given to the modern world a restoration, complete in every detail, of the architecture, the decorations, and the surroundings of a flourishing provincial town of the first century. The studies of Giuseppe Fiorelli, who presided over the excavations for twenty-five years after they came under the rule of the Italian Government, illustrated the various stages in the history of Pompeian building, the materials and technique employed, preserving the upper storeys and roofs, which had never been left standing before, thus adding immensely to the knowledge of Italian house construction of that date.

More interesting to the general public, however, are the numerous houses, with their wall-paintings and ornaments, excavated under Profs. Pais and Sogliano, of which perhaps the house of the Vettii and that of the Gilded Cupids are the best examples, in which the decorations, statues and household goods have been left as far as possible *in situ*, enabling the observer to reconstruct for himself, down to its smallest detail, the life lived by the inhabitants of the fated town. To Prof. Pais is

also owed the thorough organisation of the magnificent Museum of Naples. Another interesting excavation has been that of the country house and farm at Boscoreale, near Pompei, from which had been carried off the magnificent silver "Treasure of Boscoreale," a superb collection of Hellenistic and Roman silver work which was acquired by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and presented almost in its entirety to the Louvre. The plan suggested by Professor Charles Waldstein of Cambridge for initiating the thorough excavation of Herculaneum, to be paid for by international subscription, has finally been refused by the Italian Government, which is reluctant to relegate the privilege to others ; but the immense difficulty and expense of the work on the thick hard bed of lava which covers the buried town, and the almost impossibility of expropriating the over 34,000 inhabitants of the towns of Resina and Portici which have been built upon the site, gives little hope of any solution of the problem in the near future. The overwhelming importance of the historic, archæologic and even prehistoric knowledge gained by the excavations carried out by the Italian Government on the site of the Roman Forum and its surroundings can be realised by the fact that in papal times the ground under which was buried the remains of the centre and mainspring of the most powerful civilisation that the world has known was called the "Campo Vaccino,"—the field of the cows, where the cattle of the peasants round browsed amid the few columns and ruins that rose above the surface. The work of excavation was started immediately after United

Italy became possessed of the Eternal City, and under Pietro Rosa and Rodolfo Lanciani the encumbering earth was cleared away and the Basilica Julia, the Temple of Cæsar, part of the Julian Rostræ, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the remains of the ancient Regia, the Temple of Vesta and the house of the Vestals, all returned to the light of day, becoming part of a whole magnificent alike from an artistic and archæologic point of view.

After thirteen years the work was recontinued under Giacomo Boni, whose scientific intuitions amounted to genius, and whose thorough and exhaustive investigations led to discoveries of unhopèd-for importance and interest, relative to every stratum from prehistoric times, with the archaic necropolis, which probably dates from the 8th or 9th to the 6th century B.C., and the famous *lapis niger*, with its inscrutable inscription, through the days of Imperial Rome with the Basilica Æmilia, the temple of Augustus and the shrine of Juturna, to the final strange Romano-Byzantine paintings of S. Maria Antiqua, which carry us to the 8th century of our own era.

While the controversies of the learned rage as to the exact meaning of the quadrangular pillar found under the black pavement, whether its obscure inscription represents a copy of the earliest Roman law or the rites to be observed in this mysterious sanctuary, and of which it is only certain that it is the most ancient Latin inscription known, to the ordinary man or woman it is sufficient to find themselves in the presence of one of the most

sacred spots of the old world, which to the ancient Roman marked the place of the supposed tomb of Romulus, the founder of their city, and which, devastated during the invasion of the Gauls in the year 364 of Rome, and religiously preserved and renewed until the last years of the Empire, now reveals the votive objects and sacrificial remains of over two thousand years ago, when the sacrilege of the invaders was atoned for.

During the years from 1898 to 1905 the discovery of part of the Regia, the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, brought to light the circular base of the cell where the famous spears of Mars were kept. The recognition of the ancient route of the Via Sacra, over two yards lower than the recent pavement; the restoration of the Lacus Juturnæ, the sacred spring where it was believed that the Great Twin Brethren watered their horses after the Battle of Lake Regillus; the Atrium Vestæ, the Palace of the Vestal Virgins, with their statues, their marble water tanks, and the very rooms and buildings in which they lived their life; the excavations of the Palatine, with its memories of world-ruling emperors and great men of old Rome; all these discoveries and many others have combined to make the dry bones of archæology alive and real to thousands of pilgrims and to settle innumerable points of history and topography.

The clearance and investigation of the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, the partial excavation of the great Ara Pacis, the finest example of Augustan sculpture, with its noble figures and solemn frieze, have once for all asserted the great-



ness of distinctively Roman art, which had never had justice done to it before. These subjects have owed much to the active teaching and studies of Professor Lanciani, whose knowledge of the topography of Rome and its surroundings is unequalled, and whose volumes on ancient Rome are full not only of learning but of the atmosphere and spirit of the past times that he depicts. To him, together with Professor Hülsen of the German Archæological Institute, is due the patient piecing together of the innumerable fragments of the *Forma Urbis*, the celebrated plan of Rome of the time of Septimius Severus, possibly the copy of an older plan.

While the extensive building operations necessitated by the increase of population since Rome became the Capital of the kingdom have greatly altered the appearance of the city and robbed it of much of its old picturesqueness, something has been done to isolate the relics of the past, such as the Colosseum and the Pantheon.

Professor Corrado Ricci, the director general of Fine Arts and Antiquities, who has done such valuable work in the reorganisation of many of Italy's museums, has evolved a scheme for the isolation and redemption of the great Imperial Fora; he also presided over the liberation of the magnificent ruins of the Baths of Diocletian, which were disencumbered for the Jubilee celebrations of 1911 of the disfiguring shops and houses which had grown up in the interstices, the vast halls which thus became available being used for the Exhibition, illustrating life in the provinces of the

Roman Empire which was a revelation of all that Rome stood for in education and civilisation to the old world. Within the limits of these huge remains is also to be found the National Museum, built round the picturesque Carthusian cloisters into which a part of the ruins were adapted. Here are the magnificent treasures which have resulted from the building and drainage carried on since 1870 by the Italian Government; which include quite a number of Greek originals, notably the beautiful headless statue of a kneeling youth from the villa of Nero at Subiaco, the fine but almost brutal realism of the Hellenistic bronze of a pugilist, the splendid decorations from a house of the Augustan age found in 1878 under the garden of the famous Villa Farnesina; and also that most exquisite piece of sculpture, the archaic throne for a statue of Venus forming part of the Ludovisi collection, which was bought by the nation for £56,000; and the much discussed Hellenistic statue found at Anzio, which alone cost the considerable sum of £18,000. The Villa Borghese, situated at the gate of Rome, with its large collection of antiquities and paintings, including at least one of the great pictures of the world, Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*, became the possession of the Italian nation for the sum of £144,000; and when to all this is added the expense of the upkeep and enlargement of the galleries and museums which are to be found in almost every city of importance in the kingdom, the excavations of the wonderful Greek ruins of Pæstum, of Palestrina, of the city of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber,

which may almost be compared with Pompei for giving an idea of the life in a small provincial Roman town; the archæological investigations carried on in Campania, Apulia, Calabria, Umbria, Liguria, Venice and the Islands, are they not all written in thirty-five huge volumes of *Notices of Excavations*, and do not they prove that, so far from United Italy neglecting, as some accuse her of doing, the glorious relics of the past, her efforts to illustrate and preserve them compare favourably with those of any nation in the world.

Giovan Battista De Rossi, who died in 1894, may be called the father of modern Christian archæology. His marvellous knowledge of the strange subterranean city, as the different catacombs may almost be called, and his elucidation of the historic and artistic value of these relics of the early Church, has founded a school of which Professor Orazio Marucchi is the lucid and sympathetic exponent nowadays. The patient and exhaustive explorations carried on in the catacombs of Saints Domitilla, Calixtus, Priscilla, Agnes, Prætextatus, Sebastian and many others, have brought to light not only the sacred resting-places of many of the martyrs, but inscriptions, art and architecture which have added greatly to our knowledge of the spirit and history of a period of the early Church which until now has been insufficiently studied. During the excavations carried on in the Forum a great contribution towards the knowledge of the early Roman Christian architecture that drew inspiration from Byzantium was the uncovering of the Church of Sancta Maria Antiqua, under the Church of

S. Maria Liberatrice which was demolished in 1900. Sancta Maria Antiqua is an interesting illustration of the transformation of the Roman house into a Christian place of worship, the uncovered court of the building, which was probably the library of the temple of Augustus as restored by Domitian, becoming the narthex of the church, the atrium with its pillars and columns becoming the nave and aisles, while smaller rooms form the side-chapels. The richness and interest of the pictorial decorations, which exhibit strong Byzantine influence, led Professor Adolfo Venturi to call it the greatest pictorial monument of the early Middle Ages in Rome.

Although from the nature of things the artistic and archæologic collections of the Vatican receive no additions nowadays, they have almost all been thoroughly reorganised of late years, the Sculpture under Professor Galli, the Etruscan remains under Dr. Nogara, and the Picture Gallery under Signor Cavanaghi of Milan.

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